

THE STUDENTS' SERIES OF
HISTORICAL AND COMPARATIVE
GRAMMARS

EDITED BY JOSEPH WRIGHT

OLD ENGLISH GRAMMAR

BY

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OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

LONDON, NEW YORK AND TORONTO

1908

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OXFORD: HORACE HART
PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY

PREFACE

IN writing this Grammar we have kept steadily in view the class of students for whom the Series of Grammars was originally planned. As it is not intended for specialists, some details of more or less importance have been intentionally omitted, but we venture to think that the present volume contains all that the ordinary student will require to know about the subject. The student who thoroughly masters the book will not only have gained a comprehensive knowledge of Old English, but will also have acquired the elements of Comparative Germanic grammar. But from our long experience as teachers of the subject, we should strongly recommend the beginner not to work through the phonology at the outset, but to read Chapter I and sections 47-53, and then to learn the paradigms, and at the same time to read some easy texts such as are to be found in any of the Old English Readers. This is undoubtedly the best plan in the end, and will lead to the most satisfactory results. In fact, it is in our opinion a sheer waste of time for a student to attempt to study in detail the phonology of any language before he has acquired a good working knowledge of its vocabulary and inflexions.

In selecting examples to illustrate the sound-laws we have tried as far as possible to give words which have been preserved in Modern English. A comparison of the Index to the Grammar with an Old English Dictionary would show that we have thus included nearly all the simple words which have been preserved in the modern language. Our object in doing this was to enable the

student to lay a solid foundation for his further study of historical English grammar, and to provide a basis for the next volume of the Series, which will deal with Middle English.

It was originally our intention to include in the present volume some chapters on Syntax, but it was found that the inclusion of these chapters would have rendered the book too large for the Series. This omission of the syntax cannot however be regarded as a serious drawback, because the volume dealing with historical English syntax is already in active preparation, and will, it is hoped, be ready for press this year.

Although this Grammar makes no pretence of being an exhaustive work, yet it is by far the most complete Grammar that has hitherto been written in our own language, and the first to deal with the subject in a strictly scientific manner. We gratefully acknowledge the help we have derived from the learned articles and books by that splendid band of German Anglisten which has done so much to throw light upon the history and philology of our language in all its stages. On pp. xiii-xiv will be found a select list of the books which we have found most useful, but it is our pleasant duty to mention here our special indebtedness to the works of Bülbring, Cosijn, and Sievers.

In conclusion, we wish to express our sincere thanks to the Controller of the University Press for his great kindness in complying with our wishes in regard to special type, and to the Press Reader for the excellent manner in which he has read the proofs.

JOSEPH WRIGHT.

ELIZABETH M. WRIGHT.

OXFORD,
January, 1908.

CONTENTS

	PAGES
INTRODUCTION	I-4
Classification of the Indo-Germanic languages, and a few characteristics of the Germanic languages (§ 1); the periods of Old English (§ 2); the Old English dialects (§ 3).	
CHAPTER I	
ORTHOGRAPHY AND PRONUNCIATION	5-17
Vowels (§§ 4-6); consonants (§§ 7-8); accentuation (§§ 9-15).	
CHAPTER II	
THE PRIM. GERMANIC EQUIVALENTS OF THE INDO- GERMANIC VOWEL-SOUNDS	18-22
The Indo-Germanic vowel-system (§ 16). a (§ 17); e (§ 18); i (§ 19); o (§ 20); u (§ 21); ə (§ 22); ā (§ 23); ē (§ 24); ī (§ 25); ō (§ 26); ū (§ 27); ai (§ 28); ei (§ 29); oi (§ 30); au (§ 31); eu (§ 32); ou (§ 33). The Indg. vocalic nasals and liquids: m (§ 34); n (§ 35); r (§ 36); l (§ 37).	
CHAPTER III	
THE PRIM. GERMANIC VOWEL-SYSTEM	23-28
Table of the Prim. Germanic vowel-system (§ 38). The change of a to ā (§ 40); the change of e to i, and of i to ī (§ 41); the change of i to e (§ 42); the change of u to o, ū (§ 43); the change of eu to iu (§ 44). The vowel-system at the close of the Prim. Germanic period, and table showing the normal development of the vowels in the various Germanic languages (§ 45).	

CHAPTER IV

THE OE. DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRIM. GERMANIC VOWELS OF ACCENTED SYLLABLES.	28-70
------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-------

Umlaut: i-umlaut (§ 47); u- and o/a-umlaut (§ 48).
 Breaking (§ 49). Influence of nasals (§ 50). Influence
 of initial palatal consonants (§ 51). Influence of w
 (§ 52). The chronology of the sound-laws stated in
 §§ 47-52 (§ 53). Short vowels: a (§§ 54-79); e
 (§§ 80-95); i (§§ 96-105); o (§§ 106-10); u (§§ 111-16).
 Long vowels: ā (§§ 117-18); æ (§§ 119-24); ē (§ 125);
 ī (§§ 126-7); ō (§§ 128-30); ū (§§ 131-2). Diphthongs:
 ai (§§ 133-4); au (§§ 135-6); eu (§ 137); iu (§ 138).
 Vowel contraction (§§ 139-42). The lengthening of
 short vowels (§§ 143-9). The shortening of long vowels
 (§§ 150-1). Table of the OE. vowel-system (§ 152).

CHAPTER V

THE PRIM. GERMANIC EQUIVALENTS OF THE OE. VOWELS OF ACCENTED SYLLABLES.	71-84
------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-------

The short vowels: a (§ 153); a (o) (§ 154); æ (§ 155);
 e (§ 156); i (§ 157); o (§ 158); u (§ 159); y (§ 160).
 The long vowels: ā (§ 161); æ (§ 162); ē (§ 163);
 ī (§ 164); ō (§ 165); ū (§ 166); ŷ (§ 167). The short
 diphthongs: ea (§ 168); eo (§ 169); ie, later i, y
 (§ 170); io, later eo (§ 171). The long diphthongs:
 ēa (§ 172); ēo (§ 173); īe, later ī, ŷ (§ 174); īo, later ēo
 (§ 175). The chief deviations of the other dialects from
 West Saxon: a (§ 176); æ (§§ 177-80); e (§§ 181-3);
 i (§ 184); o (§ 185); æ (§ 186); æ (§ 187); ē (§§ 188-91);
 ī (§§ 192-3); ō (§ 194); ea (§§ 195-7); eo (§§ 198-
 201); io (§§ 202-7); ēa (§ 208); īo (§§ 209-10).

CHAPTER VI

THE OE. DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRIM. GERMANIC VOWELS OF UNACCENTED SYLLABLES.	84-95
--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-------

The treatment of Indg. final consonants in prehistoric
 OE. (§ 211). Vowels which were originally final or
 became final in Prim. Germanic (§§ 212-17). Vowels

which came to stand in final syllables in prehistoric OE. (§ 218). Final vocalic nasals and liquids in prehistoric OE. (§ 219). Svarabhakti vowels (§ 220). Vowels in medial syllables (§§ 221-3).

CHAPTER VII

ABLAUT (§§ 224-8)	96-100
-------------------	--------

CHAPTER VIII

THE FIRST SOUND-SHIFTING, VERNER'S LAW, AND OTHER CONSONANT CHANGES WHICH TOOK PLACE IN THE PRIM. GERMANIC LANGUAGE	100-121
---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	---------

Table of the Indo-Germanic consonant-system (§ 229). The normal equivalents of the Indg. explosives in Latin, Greek, and the Germanic languages (§ 230). The first sound-shifting:—the *tenues* (§ 231); the *mediae* (§ 232); the *tenues aspiratae* (§ 233); the *mediae aspiratae* (§§ 234-5). The chronological order of the first sound-shifting (§ 236). The twofold development of the Indg. velars in the Germanic languages (§ 237). Verner's law (§§ 238-9). Other consonant changes (§§ 240-50). Table of Prim. Germanic consonants (§ 251).

CHAPTER IX

SPECIAL WEST GERMANIC MODIFICATIONS OF THE GENERAL GERMANIC CONSONANT-SYSTEM	122-125
------------------------------------------------------------------------------	---------

Prim. Germanic *z* (§ 252). Prim. Germanic *ḏ* (§ 253). The doubling of consonants (§§ 254-6).

CHAPTER X

THE OE. DEVELOPMENT OF THE GENERAL GERMANIC CONSONANT-SYSTEM	125-159
--------------------------------------------------------------	---------

OE. double consonants (§ 258). The simplification of double consonants (§ 259). The doubling of consonants in OE. (§ 260). The voicing of *f*, *p*, *s* (§ 261). The unvoicing of *b*, *g* (§ 262). The semivowels: *w* (§§ 263-7); *j* (§§ 268-75). The liquids: *l* (§§ 276-7); *r* (§§ 278-81).

The nasals: **m** (§§ 282-4); **n** (§§ 285-8); **ŋ** (§§ 289-90).
 The labials: **p** (§ 291); **b** (§§ 292-4); **f** (§§ 295-7). The
 dentals: **t** (§ 298); **d** (§§ 299-300); **þ** (§§ 301-5). The
 sibilant **s** (§§ 306-8). The gutturals: **k** (§§ 309-12);
g (§§ 313-24); **h** (§§ 325-9).

CHAPTER XI

NOUNS 160-199

Classification of nouns (§§ 330-2). Declension of nouns:—

A. The strong declension:—Masculine **a**-stems (§§ 334-41); neuter **a**-stems (§§ 342-50); masculine **ja**-stems (§§ 351-4); neuter **ja**-stems (§§ 355-8); masculine **wa**-stems (§§ 359-60); neuter **wa**-stems (§§ 361-3). Feminine **ō**-stems (§§ 364-73); feminine **jō**-stems (§§ 374-8); feminine **wō**-stems (§§ 379-81). Feminine abstract nouns in **-ī** (§§ 382-3). Masculine **i**-stems (§§ 385-8); feminine **i**-stems (§§ 389-91); neuter **i**-stems (§§ 392-3). Masculine **u**-stems (§§ 395-7); feminine **u**-stems (§ 398); neuter **u**-stems (§ 399).

B. The weak declension:—Masculine **n**-stems (§§ 400-2); feminine **n**-stems (§§ 403-5); neuter **n**-stems (§§ 406-7).

C. Minor declensions:—Monosyllabic consonant stems (§§ 408-13). Stems in **-þ** (§ 414). Stems in **-r** (§ 415). Stems in **-nd** (§§ 416-18). Stems in **-os**, **-es** (§§ 419-20).

CHAPTER XII

ADJECTIVES 199-222

General remarks on the declension of adjectives (§§ 421-2). The strong declension:—**a**-stems (§§ 424-31); **ja**-stems (§§ 432-4); **wa**-stems (§§ 435-7). **i**-stems (§ 438). **u**-stems (§ 439). The weak declension (§ 440). The declension of participles (§§ 441-2). The comparison of adjectives:—The comparative degree (§ 443); the superlative degree (§ 444); irregular comparison (§§ 445-6). Numerals:—Cardinal and ordinal (§§ 447-52); other numerals (§§ 453-7).

CHAPTER XIII

PRONOUNS	222-233
--------------------	---------

General remarks on the pronouns (§ 458). Personal pronouns (§§ 459-62). Reflexive pronouns (§ 463). Possessive pronouns (§ 464). Demonstrative pronouns (§§ 465-7). Relative pronouns (§ 468). Interrogative pronouns (§§ 469-70). Indefinite pronouns (§ 471).

CHAPTER XIV

VERBS	233-279
-----------------	---------

The classification of verbs (§§ 472-4). The full conjugation of several strong verbs as models (§ 475). The endings of strong verbs (§§ 476-83). General remarks on the strong verbs (§§ 484-9). The classification of strong verbs :—Class I (§§ 490-2); Class II (§§ 493-6); Class III (§§ 497-502); Class IV (§§ 503-4); Class V (§§ 505-7); Class VI (§§ 508-10); Class VII (§§ 511-19). The classification of weak verbs :—Class I (§§ 521-34); Class II (§§ 535-7); Class III (§ 538). Minor groups :—Preterite-presents (§§ 539-46); verbs in *-mi* (§§ 547-51).

CHAPTER XV

ADVERBS (§§ 552-8); PREPOSITIONS (§ 559); CONJUNCTIONS (§ 560)	279-287
--------------------------------------------------------------------------	---------

CHAPTER XVI

WORD-FORMATION	287-313
--------------------------	---------

Simple and derivative nouns (§§ 562-3); noun and adjectival prefixes (§§ 564-94); noun suffixes (§§ 595-616); compound nouns (§§ 617-19). Simple and derivative adjectives (§§ 620-1); adjectival suffixes (§§ 622-39); compound adjectives (§§ 640-1). Simple and compound verbs (§§ 642-4); verbal prefixes (§§ 645-56); verbal suffixes (§§ 657-9).

INDEX	314-357
-----------------	---------

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ABBREVIATIONS

Dor.	= Doric	MHG.	= Middle High German
Fr.	= French	NE.	= New English
Germ.	= Germanic	NHG.	= New High German
Goth.	= Gothic	Nth.	= Northumbrian
Gr.	= Greek	OE.	= Old English
Hom.	= Homer	OHG.	= Old High German
Indg.	= Indo-Germanic	O.Icel.	= Old Icelandic
instr.	= instrumental	O.Ir.	= Old Irish
Ken.	= Kentish	OS.	= Old Saxon
Lat.	= Latin	Prim.	= Primitive
loc.	= locative	Skr.	= Sanskrit
ME.	= Middle English	WS.	= West Saxon

The asterisk * prefixed to a word denotes a theoretical form, as OE. *dæg*, *day*, from Prim. Germanic **dagaz*.

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. OLD English is a member of the West Germanic division of the Germanic (Teutonic) branch of the Indo-Germanic family of languages. This great family of languages is usually divided into eight branches:—

I. **Aryan**, consisting of: (1) The Indian group, including the language of the Vedas, classical Sanskrit, and the Prākṛit dialects. (2) The Iranian group, including (a) West Iranian (Old Persian, the language of the Persian cuneiform inscriptions, dating from about 520–350 B.C.); (b) East Iranian (Avesta—sometimes called Zend-Avesta, Zend, and Old Bactrian—the language of the Avesta, the sacred books of the Zoroastrians).

II. **Armenian**, the oldest monuments of which belong to the fifth century A.D.

III. **Greek**, with its numerous dialects.

IV. **Albanian**, the language of ancient Illyria. The oldest monuments belong to the seventeenth century.

V. **Italic**, consisting of Latin and the Umbrian-Samnitic dialects. From the popular form of Latin are descended the Romance languages: Portuguese, Spanish, Catalanian, Provençal, French, Italian, Raetoromanic, Roumanian or Wallachian.

VI. **Keltic**, consisting of: (1) Gaulish (known to us by Keltic names and words quoted by Latin and Greek authors, and inscriptions on coins; (2) Britannic, including Cymric or Welsh, Cornish, and Bas Breton or Armorican (the oldest records of Cymric and Bas Breton date back to the eighth or ninth century); (3) Gaelic, including Irish-

Gaelic, Scotch-Gaelic, and Manx. The oldest monuments are the old Gaelic ogam inscriptions which probably date as far back as about 500 A.D.

VII. **Baltic-Slavonic**, consisting of: (1) The Baltic division, embracing (a) Old Prussian, which became extinct in the seventeenth century, (b) Lithuanian, (c) Lettic (the oldest records of Lithuanian and Lettic belong to the sixteenth century); (2) the Slavonic division, embracing: (a) the South-Eastern group, including Russian (Great Russian, White Russian, and Little Russian), Bulgarian, and Illyrian (Servian, Croatian, Slovenian); (b) the Western group, including Czech (Bohemian), Sorabian (Wendish), Polish and Polabian.

VIII. **Germanic**, consisting of:—

(1) **Gothic**. Almost the only source of our knowledge of the Gothic language is the fragments of the biblical translation made in the fourth century by Ulfilas, the Bishop of the West Goths.

(2) **Old Norse** (Scandinavian), which is sub-divided into two groups: (a) East Norse, including Swedish, Gutnish, and Danish; (b) West Norse, including Norwegian, and Icelandic.

The oldest records of this branch are the runic inscriptions, some of which date as far back as the third or fourth century.

(3) **West Germanic**, which is composed of:—

(a) High German, the oldest monuments of which belong to about the middle of the eighth century.

(b) Low Franconian, called Old Low Franconian or Old Dutch until about 1200.

(c) Low German, with records dating back to the ninth century. Up to about 1200 it is generally called Old Saxon.

(d) Frisian, the oldest records of which belong to the fourteenth century.

(e) English, the oldest records of which belong to about the end of the seventh century.

NOTE.—1. A few of the chief characteristics of the Germanic languages as compared with the other branches of the Indo-Germanic languages are: the first sound-shifting or Grimm's law (§§ 229-34); Verner's law (§ 238); the development of the so-called weak declension of adjectives (§ 421); the development of the preterite of weak verbs (§ 520); the use of the old perfect as a preterite (§ 481).

2. The most characteristic differences between Gothic and Old Norse on the one hand, and of West Germanic on the other, are: the West Germanic gemination of consonants (§§ 254-6); the loss of final *z* which arose from Indo-Germanic *s* by Verner's law (§ 252); the West Germanic development of prim. Germanic *ww* (§ 90), *jj* (§ 275); the form of the second pers. sing. pret. indicative of strong verbs (§ 481). Gothic and Old Norse preserved the old perfect ending, as Goth. Old Norse *namt*, *thou tookest*, but OE. *nōme*, OS. OHG. *nāmi*. In the West Germanic languages the *-t* was only preserved in the preterite-present verbs, as OE. *wāst*, OS. *wēst*, OHG. *weist*, *thou knowest*.

3. The most characteristic difference between High German and the other Germanic languages is: the High German sound-shifting (§ 230).

§ 2. The division of a language into fixed periods must of necessity be more or less arbitrary. What are given as the characteristics of one period have generally had their beginnings in the previous period, and it is impossible to say with perfect accuracy when one period begins and another ends. For practical purposes Old English may be conveniently divided into two periods: early OE. from about 700 to 900; and late OE. from 900-1100.

§ 3. The oldest records of OE. exhibit clearly defined dialectal peculiarities which have been treated in some detail in the phonology, so that the student can easily collect together for himself the chief characteristics of each dialect. In this grammar early West Saxon is taken

as the standard for OE., and is treated in greater detail than the other dialects. In using OE. poetry for grammatical purposes the student should remember that it was for the most part originally written in the Anglian dialect, but that it has come down to us chiefly in late West Saxon copies which contain many Anglian forms. OE. is usually divided into four dialects: (a) Northumbrian, embracing the district between the Firth of Forth and the Humber. (b) Mercian, between the Humber and the Thames. (c) West Saxon, south of the Thames, except Kent and Surrey. (d) Kentish, embracing Kent and Surrey. Northumbrian and Mercian are often classed together and called Anglian.

NOTE.—A detailed comparison of late OE. phonology with that of the Modern dialects would doubtless show that the dialects of Sussex and East Anglia were closely related to the dialect of Kent in the OE. period. This is not the place for such a comparison, so one example must suffice here. The change of \bar{y} to \bar{e} (§ 132, Note) in late OE. is always regarded as a special Kentish peculiarity, but the same sound change must also have taken place in Sussex and East Anglia, where OE. \bar{y} has regularly become \bar{i} (through the older stage \bar{e}) in the Modern dialects, as $l\bar{i}s$ (OE. $l\bar{y}s$), *lice*; $m\bar{i}s$ (OE. $m\bar{y}s$), *mice*; whereas had \bar{y} simply been unrounded to \bar{i} in the late OE. period of these dialects, the Modern forms would have been **lois* and **mois*.

PHONOLOGY

CHAPTER I

ORTHOGRAPHY AND PRONUNCIATION

§ 4. OE. was written in the British modified form of the Latin alphabet with the addition of þ and ƿ (= w) from the runic alphabet. Vowel length was mostly omitted in writing, but in the case of long vowels it was sometimes represented by doubling the vowel or by using the diacritic sign ´, as *huus*, *hús*, *house*. The sign ¯, placed over vowels, is used in this grammar to mark long vowels and diphthongs. The account of the pronunciation given below is only approximately accurate. It is impossible to ascertain with perfect certainty the exact pronunciation of any language in its oldest period.

A. THE VOWELS.

§ 5. The OE. vowel-system was represented by the six elementary letters *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*, *y*, the ligatures *æ*, *œ*, and the digraphs *ea*, *eo*, *io*, and *ie*, the digraphs having the value of diphthongs. See § 6. They all had both a short and a long quantity.

a had the same sound as the *a* in NHG. *ab*, *gast*, as *dagas*, *days*; *habban*, *to have*; *hagol*, *hail*; *hara*, *hare*. *a* before nasals was probably a low-back-wide vowel like the *a* as pronounced in many Scotch dialects in such words as *ant*, *man*. In OE. it was accordingly often written *o* and may be pronounced like the *o* in NE. *not*, as *band*,

bond, he bound ; *land, lond, land* ; *lang, long, long* ; *mann, monn, man* ; *nama, noma, name*. See § 59.

ā had the same sound as the *a* in NE. *father*, as *ān, one* ; *bān, bone* ; *rāp, rope* ; *twā, two* ; *cnāwan, to know* ; *māwan, to mow* ; *sāwan, to sow*.

æ had the same sound as the *a* in NE. *hat*, as *dæg, day* ; *fæder, father* ; *fæstan, to fasten* ; *hæfde, he had* ; *mægden, maiden*.

ǣ had the same sound as the *ai* in NE. *air*, and the *è* in French *père*, as *dǣd, deed* ; *sǣd, seed* ; *wǣpen, weapon* ; *clǣne, clean* ; *hǣlan, to heal* ; *lǣdan, to lead* ; *sǣ, sea*.

e had the same sound as the *e* in NE. *west, end*, as *etan, to eat* ; *fell, skin* ; *helpan, to help* ; *segl, sail* ; *ende, end* ; *here, army* ; *mete, meat* ; *exen, oxen*.

ē had the same sound as the *e* in NHG. *reh*, as *hēr, here* ; *cwēn, queen* ; *fēdan, to feed* ; *grēne, green* ; *tēþ, teeth*.

i had the same sound as the *i* in NE. *sit*, as *fisc, fish* ; *sittan, to sit* ; *þing, thing* ; *niman, to take*.

ī had the same sound as the *i* in NHG. *ihn*, and nearly the same sound as the *ee* in NE. *feed*, as *līf, life* ; *mīn, my* ; *tīd, time* ; *fīf, five* ; *sīþe, scythe*.

o had the same sound as the *o* in NE. *not*, as *col, coal* ; *coren, chosen* ; *dohtor, daughter* ; *nosu, nosé* ; *oxa, ox*. See *a* above.

ō had the same sound as the *o* in NHG. *bote*, as *brōþor, brother* ; *grōwan, to grow* ; *mōdor, mother* ; *mōna, moon* ; *sōna, soon* ; *gōs, goose* ; *ōþer, other* ; *þōhte, he thought*.

u had the same sound as the *u* in NE. *put*, as *duru, door* ; *full, full* ; *hungor, hunger* ; *lufian, to love* ; *guma, man* ; *þunor, thunder*.

ū had the same sound as the *u* in NHG. *gut*, and nearly the same sound as the *oo* in NE. *food*, as *cū, cow* ; *hūs, house* ; *sūr, sour* ; *ūt, out* ; *mūþ, mouth* ; *ūs, us*.

œ had the same sound as the ö in NHG. *götter*, as dat. *dœhter*, to a daughter; *œle*, oil; *œxen*, oxen.

ē had the same sound as the ö in NHG. *schön*, as *bōc*, books; *dēma(n)*, to judge; *cwōen*, queen.

y had the same sound as the ü in NHG. *mütter*, as *brycg*, bridge; *cyning*, king; *scyld*, guilt; *þyncan*, to seem.

ȳ had the same sound as the ü in NHG. *grün*, as *brȳd*, bride; *mȳs*, mice; *wȳscan*, to wish; *ȳþ*, wave.

It is difficult to determine what was the precise pronunciation of the *a*, *e*, *o* in the second element of diphthongs. In these combinations they had the function of consonants and may be pronounced as very short unstressed *ă*, *ĕ*, *ō*. The first element of the diphthongs *ea*, *ēa* was a very open sound like the *æ* in OE. *fæder*, and the *a* in NE. *hat*, but the *e* in the diphthongs *eo*, *ēo* was like the *e* in NE. *bed* or like the close *é* in French *été*. In the long diphthongs each of the elements was longer than in the short diphthongs.

ea = *æ* + *ă*, as *eall*, all; *healdan*, to hold; *earm*, arm; *heard*, hard; *eahta*, eight; *weaxan*, to grow; *geat*, gate.

ēa = *ā* + *a*, as *dēaþ*, death; *hēafod*, head; *hlēapan*, to leap; *slēan*, to slay; *gēar*, year; *scēap*, sheep; *nēah*, near; *strēa*, straw.

eo = *e* + *ō*, as *meolcan*, to milk; *heorte*, heart; *steorra*, star; *sweostor*, sister; *geolo*, yellow.

ēo = *ē* + *o*, as *cēosan*, to choose; *dēop*, deep; *þeof*, thief; *sēon*, to see; *cnēo*, knee.

ie = *i* + *ĕ*, as *giest*, guest; *ieldra*, older; *ierfe*, inheritance; *hliehhan*, to laugh; *giefan*, to give; *hierde*, shepherd; *siehþ*, he sees; *cnieht*, boy.

īe = *ī* + *e*, as *hīeran*, to hear; *geliefan*, to believe; *hīehra*, higher; *cīesþ*, he chooses; *liehtan*, to give light; *nīewe*, new.

io = *i* + *ō*, as *liornian*, to learn; *mioluc*, miolc, milk; *miox*, manure.

io = i + o, as *liode*, *people*; *pīostre*, *dark*; *sīon*, *to strain*; *pīon*, *to thrive*.

§ 6. From what has been said above we arrive at the following OE. vowel-system:—

Short vowels	a, æ, e, i, o, u, œ, y
Long „	ā, ǣ, ē, ī, ō, ū, œ̄, ȳ
Short diphthongs	ea, eo, ie, io
Long „	ēa, ēo, iē, iō

NOTE.—æ was often written æe, and ȳ in the oldest records. In the oldest period of the language there must have been two short e-sounds, viz. e = Germanic e (§ 80), and e = the i-umlaut of æ (§ 55), the latter probably being more open than the former, but the two sounds seem to have fallen together at an early date. Long ī was sometimes written ig finally and occasionally also medially, as *big* = *bī*, *by*; *hig* = *hī*, *they*; *big-spell* = *bīspell*, *parable*. The ō in words like *gōs*, *goose* (§ 61) and *mōna*, *moon* (§ 121) must originally have been an open ō like the a in NE. *all*, but it fell together with Germanic long close ō (§ 128) at an early period. œ and œ̄, always written oe in OE. manuscripts, only occur in the Anglian dialect; in WS. and Ken. they were unrounded to ē already in the oldest period of these dialects (§ 129). The diphthongs ea, ēa were sometimes written æo in the oldest records. iē and iō occur chiefly in early WS.

A diphthong may be defined as the combination of a sonantal with a consonantal vowel. It is called a falling or a rising diphthong according as the stress is upon the first or the second element. The OE. diphthongs were generally falling diphthongs, but the diphthongs, which arose from the influence of initial palatal c, g, and sc upon a following palatal vowel, were originally rising diphthongs which at a later period became falling diphthongs through the shifting of the stress from the second to the first element of the diphthong. See § 51.

B. THE CONSONANTS.

§ 7. The OE. consonant-system was represented by the following letters:—b, c, d, f, g, h, k, l, m, n, p, r, s, t, þ (ð), *w, x.

v (written u) and z (= ts) were very rarely used except occasionally in late loanwords. c, cc, nc, sc; g, ng; and h (except initially), hh were guttural or palatal according to the sound-law stated in § 309. On the vocalic liquids and nasals in OE. see § 219.

Of the above letters b, d, m, n, p, t had the same sound-values as in Modern English. The remaining consonants require special attention.

c. Guttural c, sometimes written k in the oldest records, was pronounced nearly like the c in NE. *could*. Palatal c (often written ce before a following guttural vowel) was pronounced nearly like the k in NE. *kid*. In the OE. runic alphabet the two k-sounds had separate characters. Some scholars assume that palatal c and sc were pronounced like the ch and sh in NE. *church*; *ship*, *fish*. Examples of guttural c are: *bucca*, *he-goat*; *cēlan*, *to cool*; *cnēo*, *knee*; *sprecan*, *to speak*; *cyssan*, *to kiss*; *bōc*, *book*; *weorc*, *work*; *drincan*, *to drink*; *þancian*, *to thank*; and of palatal c: *cēosan*, *to choose*; *cinn*, *chin*; *cīese*, *cheese*; *bēc*, *books*; *crycc*, *crutch*; *benc*, *bench*; *þenc(e)an*, *to think*; of sc: *sceal*, *shall*; *scēap*, *sheep*; *scōh*, *shoe*; *wascan*, *to wash*; *fisc*, *fish*.

f. Initially, finally, and medially before voiceless consonants, also when doubled, f was a voiceless spirant like the f in NE. *fit*, *shaft*, as *fæder*, *father*; *fōt*, *foot*; *ceaf*, *chaff*; *hrōf*, *roof*; *geaf*, *he gave*; *sceaft*, *shaft*; *pyffan*, *to puff*. Medially between voiced sounds it was a voiced spirant (often written b in the oldest records) like the v in NE. *vine*, *five*, as *giefan*, *to give*; *hafaf*, *he has*; *seofon*, *seven*; *wulfas*, *wolves*; *hræfn*, *raven*; *lifde*, *he lived*.

g was used to represent several different sounds: (a) a guttural and a palatal explosive; (b) a guttural and a palatal spirant which had separate characters in the OE. runic alphabet. The palatal explosive and the palatal spirant

were often written *ge* before a following guttural vowel with *e* to indicate the palatal nature of the *g*.

Before guttural vowels initial *g* was pronounced like the *g* in NE. *good*, but in the oldest OE. like the *g* in NHG. *sagen* (§ 314), as *gāst*, *spirit*; *god*, *God*; *gold*, *gold*. Before palatal vowels initial *g* was a palatal spirant nearly like the *j* in NHG. *jahr* and the *y* in NE. *ye*, *you*, as *geaf*, *he gave*; *giefan*, *to give*; *giest*, *yeast*; *geoc*, *yoke*.

Medial *gg* was always a guttural explosive like the *g* in NE. *good*, as *dogga*, *dog*; *frogga*, *frog*; *stagga*, *stag*. Medial and final *cg* was a palatal explosive nearly like the *g* in NE. *get*, as *lecg(e)an*, *to lay*; *secg(e)an*, *to say*; *brycg*, *bridge*; *wecg*, *wedge*. The *g* in medial and final *ng* was a guttural or a palatal explosive, the former being nearly like the *g* in NE. *longer*, as *sungon*, *they sang*; *hungor*, *hunger*; *lang*, *long*; and the latter nearly like the *g* in NE. *finger*, as *lengra*, *longer*; *streng*, *string*; *þing*, *thing*.

Medial intervocalic *g* was a guttural or a palatal spirant, the former being nearly like the *g* in NHG. *sagen*, as *boga*, *bow*; *fugol*, *bird*; *lagu*, *law*; and the latter nearly like the *g* in NHG. *siegen*, as *bīeg(e)an*, *to bend*; *fæger*, *fair*; *hyge*, *mind*.

NOTE.—1. Some scholars assume that palatal *cg* and *ng* were pronounced *dž* and *ndž* where *dž* = the *j* in NE. *just*.

2. *g* is generally used for *g* in OE. manuscripts and printed texts, and often also in grammars. In this grammar *g* is only used to represent the prim. Germanic voiced spirant (§ 229, Note 5).

h. Initial *h* (except in the combination *hw*) was an aspirate like the *h* in NE. *hand*, as *habban*, *to have*; *heard*, *hard*; *hūs*, *house*; *hlūd*, *loud*. Initial *hw* was pronounced *xw* like the *wh* in many Scotch dialects, as *hwā*, *who?*; *hwæte*, *wheat*. In all other positions *h*, including *hh*, was a guttural or a palatal spirant, the former being like the *ch* in NHG. *nacht*, *noch*, as *dohtor*, *daughter*;

eahta, *eight*; **tiohhian**, *to think, consider*; **sulh**, *plough*; **feorh**, *life*; **dāh**, *dough*; **troh**, *trough*; and the latter like the **ch** in NHG. **nicht**, *ich*, as **flyht**, *flight*; **siehp**, *he sees*; **nēah**, *near*; **hliehhan**, *to laugh*. In the oldest records final **h** was sometimes written **ch**, as **elch** = **eolh**, *elk*; **salch** = **sealh**, *willow*.

k was sometimes used to express the guttural **c** (see above), as **kynn**, *race, generation*; **kyning**, *king*; **knēo**, *knee*. See § 319.

1. In Northumbrian and the greater portion of the Mercian district, **l** was pronounced like the **l** in NHG. and in standard NE., but in West Saxon, Kentish, and parts of the southern portion of Mercia, it was a reverted sound formed by the under surface of the tip of the tongue being turned to the hard palate which imparted to the sound a kind of guttural quality. This explains why breaking (§§ 49, 63) took place in WS. and Ken. before **l** + consonant, but not in Anglian. The reverted **l** is still preserved in the dialects of the southern and south-western counties. Examples are: **lædan**, *to lead*; **folc**, *folk*; **fugol**, *bird*; **eall**, *all*; **healdan**, *to hold*; **meolcan**, *to milk*.

r was trilled in all positions as in Modern Scotch, as **rīdan**, *to ride*; **duru**, *door*; **word**, *word*; **fæder**, *father*. In West Saxon, Kentish, and parts of the southern portion of Mercia, it was reverted like **l** (see above), which accounts for breaking taking place before **r** + consonant more regularly in WS. and Ken. than in Anglian, as **earm**, *arm*; **heard**, *hard*; **eorþe**, *earth*; **liornian**, *to learn*.

s. Initially, finally, medially before voiceless consonants, and when doubled, **s** was a voiceless spirant like the **s** in NE. **sit**, as **sealt**, *salt*; **sunu**, *son*; **standan**, *to stand*; **sweostor**, *sister*; **hūs**, *house*; **īs**, *ice*; **cyssan**, *to kiss*. Medially between voiced sounds, it was a voiced spirant like the **s** in NE. **rise**, as **bōsm**, *bosom*; **cēosan**, *to choose*; **nosu**, *nose*; **ōsle**, *ousel*.

þ. Initially, medially when doubled, and finally þ was a voiceless spirant like the *th* in NE. *thin*, as *pencan*, *to think*; *þeof*, *thief*; *moþpe*, *moth*; *bæþ*, *bath*; *mūþ*, *mouth*. Medially between voiced sounds, it was a voiced spirant like the *th* in NE. *then*, as *baþian*, *to bathe*; *brōþor*, *brother*; *eorþe*, *earth*; *fæþm*, *fathom*.

Initial þ was written *th* until about 900 in imitation of Latin. Afterwards it was written *ð*, and þ (borrowed from the runic alphabet). And the voiced spirant was often written *d* in imitation of the contemporary Latin pronunciation.

w does not occur in OE. manuscripts, but was represented by *uu*, *u* until about the year 900, later by *ƿ* borrowed from the runic alphabet. It had the same sound-value as the *w* in NE. *wet*, as *wæter*, *water*; *sweltan*, *to die*; *wlanc*, *proud*; *sāwol*, *soul*.

x was pronounced like the *x* in NE. *six*, as *rīxian*, *to rule*; *siex*, *six*; *weaxan*, *to grow*; *āxian*, *to ask*.

§ 8. From what has been said above we arrive at the following OE. consonant-system:—

	LABIAL.	INTER-DENTAL.	DENTAL.	GUT-TURAL.	PALATAL.
<i>Explo-</i>	Voiceless p, pp		t, tt	c, cc	c, cc
<i>sives</i>					
	Voiced b, bb		d, dd	g, gg	g, cg
<i>Spi-</i>	Voiceless f, ff	þ, þþ	s, ss	h, hh	h, hh
<i>rants</i>					
	Voiced f	þ	s	g	g
<i>Nasals</i>	m, mm		n, nn	n	n
<i>Liquids</i>			l, ll ; r, rr		
<i>Semi-vowel</i>	w				

To these must be added the aspirate *h*, and *x*. The double consonants were pronounced long as in Modern Italian and Swedish, thus *habban* = *hab-ban*, *to have*; *swimman* = *swim-man*, *to swim*, see §§ 258-9. From the above table it will be seen that the OE. alphabet was very defective, inasmuch as each of the letters *c, f, g, h, n, s*, and *þ* was used to represent two or more sounds.

STRESS (ACCENT).

§ 9. All the Indo-Germanic languages have partly pitch (musical) and partly stress accent, but one or other of the two systems of accentuation always predominates in each language, thus in Sanskrit and Old Greek the accent was predominantly pitch, whereas in the oldest periods of the Italic dialects, and the Keltic and Germanic languages, the accent was predominantly stress. This difference in the system of accentuation is clearly seen in Old Greek and the old Germanic languages by the preservation of the vowels of unaccented syllables in the former and the weakening or loss of them in the latter. In the early period of the parent Indg. language, the stress accent must have been more predominant than the pitch accent, because it is only upon this assumption that we are able to account for the origin of the vowels *ĩ*, *ũ*, *ə* (§ 16, Note 1), the liquid and nasal sonants (§§ 34-7), and the loss of vowel often accompanied by a loss of syllable, as in Greek gen. *πα-τρ-ός* beside acc. *πα-τέρ-α* ; *πέτ-ομαι* beside *ἐ-πτ-όμην* ; Gothic gen. pl. *aúhs-nē* beside acc. **aúhsa-ns*. It is now a generally accepted theory that at a later period of the parent language the system of accentuation became predominantly pitch, which was preserved in Sanskrit and Old Greek, but which must have become predominantly stress again in prim. Germanic some time prior to the operation of Verner's law (§ 238).

The quality of the accent in the parent language was partly 'broken' (acute) and partly 'slurred' (circumflex). This distinction in the quality of the accent was preserved in prim. Germanic in final syllables containing a long vowel, as is seen by the difference in the development of the final long vowels in historic times according as they originally had the 'broken' or 'slurred' accent (§ 217).

In the parent language the chief accent of a word did

not always fall upon the same syllable of a word, but was free or movable as in Sanskrit and Greek, cp. e. g. Gr. nom. πατήρ, *father*, voc. πάτερ, acc. πατέρα; Skr. *ēmi*, *I go*, pl. *imās*, *we go*. This free accent was still preserved in prim. Germanic at the time when Verner's law operated, whereby the voiceless spirants became voiced when the vowel immediately preceding them did not bear the chief accent of the word (§ 238). At a later period of the prim. Germanic language, the chief accent of a word became confined to the root- or stem-syllable. This confining of the chief accent to the root-syllable was the cause of the great weakening—and eventual loss—which the vowels underwent in unaccented syllables in the prehistoric period of the individual Germanic languages (§§ 212-7). And the extent to which the weakening of unaccented syllables has been carried in some of the Modern Germanic dialects is well illustrated by such sentences as, *as et it mōæn*, *I shall have it in the morning*; *ast ə dunt if id kud*, *I should have done it if I had been able* (West Yorks.).

§ 10. The rule for the accentuation of uncompounded words is the same in Old English as in the oldest period of the other Germanic languages, viz. the chief stress fell upon the stem-syllable and always remained there even when suffixes and inflexional endings followed it, as *beran*, *to bear*; *dagas*, *days*. *grēting*, *greeting*; *hælnes*, *salvation*; *hæriht*, *hairy*; *handlung*, *handling*; *mistig*, *misty*. *hlāpettan*, *to leap*; *ierringa*, *angrily*; *lēofosta*, *dearest*. *hēafodu*, *heads*; *lænere*, *lender*; *sealfian*, *to anoint*; *wundrode*, *he wondered*. *berende*, *bearing*; *cyningas*, *kings*; *grimettan*, *to rage*. *gædeling*, *companion*; *heofonisc*, *heofonlic*, *heavenly*. *æpele*, *noble*; *hetele*, *hostile*; *macode*, *he made*; *nerede*, *he saved*. *æpelingas*, *noblemen*; *fultumian*, *to help*; *huntigestre*, *huntress*; *maþelode*, *he spoke*. The position of the secondary stress in trisyllabic and polysyllabic words

fluctuated in OE., and with the present state of our knowledge of the subject it is impossible to formulate any hard and fast rules concerning it.

In compound words it is necessary to distinguish between compounds whose second element is a noun or an adjective, and those whose second element is a verb. In the former case the first element had the chief accent in the parent Indg. language; in the latter case the first element had or had not the chief accent according to the position of the verb in the sentence. But already in prim. Germanic the second element of compound verbs nearly always had the chief accent; a change which was mostly brought about by the compound and simple verb existing side by side. This accounts for the difference in the accentuation of such pairs as *ándgiet*, *intelligence* : *ongíetan*, *to understand*; *ándsaca*, *adversary* : *onsácan*, *to deny*; *bígang*, *practice* : *begángen*, *to practise*; *órþanc*, *device* : *āþéncan*, *to devise*; *úþgegne*, *fugitive* : *opgángen*, *to escape*; *wíþersaca*, *opponent* : *wiþsácan*, *to oppose*.

§ 11. As has been stated above, compound words, whose second element is a noun or an adjective, had originally the chief stress on the first syllable. This simple rule was preserved in OE., as *ācbēam*, *oak-tree*; *æftergield*, *additional payment*; *brýdguma*, *bridegroom*; *cornhūs*, *granary*; *dēaþstede*, *death-place*; *fēowergield*, *fourfold payment*; *frēomæg*, *free kinsman*; *gēardagas*, *days of yore*; *godbearn*, *godchild*; *lārhūs*, *school*. *æfterboren*, *posthumous*; *æpelcund*, *of noble origin*; *ārfæst*, *virtuous*; *brynehāt*, *burning hot*; *gearowyrdig*, *eloquent*; *isengræg*, *iron-grey*; *mōdwlanc*, *proud*; *wordsnotor*, *eloquent*. Nouns like *āliefednes*, *permission*, *onfāngennes*, *reception*, *ongíetennes*, *understanding*, *ongínn*, *beginning*, &c., are no exception to the rule, because such nouns were formed direct from the corresponding verbs: pp. *āliefed*, *onfāngen*, *ongíeten*, inf. *ongínnan*.

§ 12. Already in the oldest period of the language many nouns and adjectives were formed from verbs containing an inseparable particle, and accordingly had the chief stress on the second element, as *bebod*, *command*; *bebyrignes*, *burying*; *bedelfing*, *digging round*; *begang* beside *bīgeng*, *practice*; *behāt*, *promise*; *behēfe*, *suitable*; *belāf*, *remainder*; *belimp*, *occurrence*; *forbod*, *prohibition*; *for-gietol*, *forgetful*; *forhæfednes*, *temperance*; *forlor*, *forlorennes*, *destruction*; but *fórwyrd*, *ruin*. In like manner the prefix *ge-* was already unaccented in the oldest period of the language—probably partly also in prim. Germanic—and therefore words compounded with it had the chief stress on the second element, as *gebann*, *decree*; *gebed*, *prayer*; *gebrōpor*, *brethren*; *gefeoht*, *fight*; *gefēra*, *companion*; *gesceaft*, *creation*; *geþeagt*, *counsel*, *thought*; *gewider*, *bad weather*, *storm*; *ge-æpele*, *congenial*; *gecoren*, *chosen*; *gecynde*, *innate*, *natural*; *gedēfe*, *befitting*; *gelic*, *alike*; *gemæne*, *common*; *gemyndig*, *mindful*; *gesund*, *healthy*; *gefyrn*, *long ago*.

§ 13. In compound nouns the chief secondary stress was upon that syllable of the second element which would have the chief stress if it were used alone, as *brýdgūma*, *bridegroom*; *fēowergield*, *fourfold payment*; *gēarowýrdig*, *eloquent*. For further examples, see above. But compounds which were no longer felt as such did not have a strong secondary stress upon the second element, as *ēorod* from *eoh* + *rād*, *troop of cavalry*; *hlāford* from *hlāf* + *weard*, *lord*; *weorud*, *werod* from *wer* + *rād*, *multitude*, *army*.

§ 14. In the oldest period of the language, the compound verbs had the chief stress upon the second or first element according as the first element was inseparable or separable, as *becuman*, *to become*; *behēaldan*, *to behold*; and similarly *gebēaran*, *to behave*; *gehātan*, *to name*; *forbēodan*, *to forbid*; *forgiefan*, *to forgive*; *geondsēon*, *to survey*; *geondpencan*, *to consider*; *opberstan*, *to break away*; *opfeallan*,

to fall off; *tōberstan*, to burst asunder; *tōdælan*, to divide. *ætiewan*, to exhibit; *ætnīman*, to deprive; and similarly *oferwīpan*, to overcome; *oferweorpan*, to overthrow; *underberan*, to support; *underniman*, to comprehend; *purh-þýrelian*, to pierce through; *purhwunian*, to abide continuously; *wipfōn*, to grasp at; *wipmetan*, to compare; *ymbbindan*, to bind round; *ymbhwēorfan*, to revolve. Verbs like *ándswarian*, to answer, *ándwyrðan*, to answer, *fúltumian*, to support, *órettan*, to fight, are no exception to the rule, because such verbs were formed direct from the nouns: *ándswaru*, *ándwyrde*, *fúltum*, *óret*. Examples of separable verbs are: *æftersprecan*, to claim; *æfterfolgian*, to pursue; *bístandan*, to support; *bílibban*, to live by; and similarly *eftcierran*, to turn back; *eftflōwan*, to flow back; *foregangan*, to precede; *forescēawian*, to foresee; *ūpræran*, to raise up; *ūpiernan*, to run up; *incuman*, to come in; *midwunian*, to live together; *ongēanfealdan*, to fold back; *tōdōn*, to put to; *ūtdrīfan*, to drive out; *ūtfllōwan*, to flow out.

§ 15. In compound adverbs the first element had the chief or secondary stress according as it was the more or less important element of the compound, as *éal(1)mæst*, almost; *éalneg* from *ealne* + *weg*, always; *éalswā*, quite so; but *onwég*, away; *tōgædere*, together; *þærinne*, therein.

CHAPTER II

THE PRIMITIVE GERMANIC EQUIVALENTS
OF THE INDO-GERMANIC VOWEL-SOUNDS

§ 16. The parent Indo-Germanic language had the following vowel-system :—

Short vowels	a, e, i, o, u, ə
Long „	ā, ē, ī, ō, ū
Short diphthongs	ai, ei, oi, au, eu, ou
Long „	āi, ēi, ōi, āu, ēu, ōu
Short vocalic	l, m, n, r

NOTE.—1. The short vowels *i, u, ə*, the long vowels *ī, ū*, and vocalic *l, m, n, r* occurred originally only in syllables which did not bear the principal accent of the word.

The short vowels *i, u*, and vocalic *l, m, n, r* arose from the loss of *e* in the strong forms *ei, eu, el, em, en, er*, which was caused by the principal accent having been shifted to some other syllable in the word.

ə, the quality of which cannot be precisely defined, arose from the weakening of an original *ā, ē, or ō*, caused by the loss of accent. It is generally pronounced like the final vowel in German *Gabe*.

ī and *ū* were contractions of weak diphthongs which arose from the strong forms *eiā, āi, ēi, ōi*; *euā, āu, ēu, ōu* through the loss of accent. The *e* in *eiā, euā* had disappeared before the contraction took place. See § 9.

2. The long diphthongs *āi, ēi, &c.*, were of rare occurrence in the parent language, and their history in the prehistoric period of the various branches of the Indo-Germanic languages, except when final, is still somewhat obscure. In stem-syllables they were generally either shortened to *ai, ei, &c.*, or the second element (*i, u*) disappeared. In final syllables they were generally shortened to *ai, ei, &c.* In this book no further account will be taken of the Indg. long diphthongs in stem-syllables.

For their treatment in final syllables in Primitive Germanic, see § 217.

3. Upon theoretical grounds it is generally assumed that the parent language contained long vocalic **i, m, n, r**. But their history in the various Indg. languages is still uncertain. In any case they were of very rare occurrence, and are therefore left out of consideration in this book.

§ 17. **a** (Lat. **a**, Gr. **α**) remained, as Lat. *ager*, Gr. *ἀγρός*, Goth. *akrs*, O.Icel. *akr*, OS. *akkar*, OHG. *ackar*, OE. *æcer*, *field, acre*; Gr. *ἄλς*, Lat. gen. *salis*, Goth. O.Icel. OS. *salt*, OHG. *salz*, OE. *sealt* (§ 64), *salt*; Lat. *aqua*, Goth. *ahva*, OS. OHG. *aha*, OE. *ēa* from **eahu*, older **ahu* (§ 70), *water, river*.

§ 18. **e** (Lat. **e**, Gr. **ε**) remained, as Lat. *ferō*, Gr. *φέρω*, *I bear*, O.Icel. *bera*, OS. OHG. OE. *beran*, *to bear*; Lat. *edō*, Gr. *ἔδομαι*, *I eat*, O.Icel. *eta*, OHG. *ezzān*, OS. OE. *etan*, *to eat*; Lat. *pellis*, Gr. *πέλλα*, OS. OHG. *fel*, OE. *fell*, *skin, hide*.

§ 19. **i** (Lat. **i**, Gr. **ι**) remained, as Gr. Hom. *ῥίδμεν*, Goth. *witum*, O.Icel. *vitum*, OS. *witun*, OHG. *wizzum*, OE. *witon*, *we know*, cp. Lat. *vidēre*, *to see*; Lat. *piscis*, Goth. *fisks*, O.Icel. *fiskr*, OS. *fisk*, OHG. OE. *fisc*, *fish*; Lat. *vidua* (adj. fem.), *bereft of, deprived of*, Goth. *widuwō*, OS. *widowa*, OHG. *wituwa*, OE. *widewe*, *widow*.

§ 20. **o** (Lat. **o**, Gr. **ο**) became **a** in stem-syllables, as Lat. *octō*, Gr. *ὀκτώ*, Goth. *ahtáu*, OS. OHG. *ahto*, OE. *eahta* (§ 68), *eight*; Lat. *hostis*, *stranger, enemy*, Goth. *gasts*, OS. OHG. *gast*, OE. *giest* (§ 73), *guest*; Lat. *quod*, Goth. *hva*, O.Icel. *hvat*, OS. *hwat*, OHG. *hwaz*, OE. *hwæt*, *what*.

§ 21. **u** (Lat. **u**, Gr. **υ**) remained, as Gr. *κυνός* (gen. sing.), Goth. *hunds*, O.Icel. *hundr*, OHG. *hunt*, OS. OE. *hund*, *dog, hound*; Gr. *θύρα*, OS. *đuri*, OHG. *turi*, OE. *duru*, *door*; Skr. *bu-budhimá*, *we watched*, Gr. *πέ-πυσται*, *he has inquired*, Goth. *budum*, O.Icel. *buðum*, OS. *budun*, OHG. *butum*, OE. *budon*, *we announced, offered*.

§ 22. *ə* became *a* in all the Indo-Germanic languages, except in the Aryan branch, where it became *i*, as Lat. *pater*, Gr. πατήρ, O.Ir. *athir*, Goth. *fadar*, O.Icel. *faðir*, OS. *fader*, OHG. *fater*, OE. *fæder*, *father*, Skr. *pitár*. (from **pəté-*), *father*; Lat. *status*, Gr. στατός, Skr. *sthitás*, *standing*, Goth. *staps*, O.Icel. *staðr*, OS. *stad*, OHG. *stat*, OE. *stede*, prim. Germanic **staðiz*, *place*.

§ 23. *ā* (Lat. *ā*, Gr. Doric *ā*, Attic, Ionic *η*) became *ō*, as Lat. *māter*, Gr. Dor. μάτηρ, O.Icel. *mōðir*, OS. *mōðar*, OHG. *muoter*, OE. *mōdor*, *mother*; Gr. Dor. φράτηρ, *member of a clan*, Lat. *frāter*, Goth. *brōþar*, O.Icel. *brōðir*, OS. *brōthar*, OHG. *bruoder*, OE. *brōþor*, *brother*; Lat. *fāgus*, *beech*, Gr. Dor. φᾱγός, *a kind of oak*, Goth. *bōka*, *letter of the alphabet*, O.Icel. OS. *bōk*, *book*, OE. *bōc-trēow*, *beech-tree*.

§ 24. *ē* (Lat. *ē*, Gr. *η*) remained, but it is generally written *æ* (= Goth. *ē*, O.Icel. OS. OHG. *ā*, OE. *æ*) in works on Germanic philology, as Lat. *ēdimus*, Goth. *ētum*, O.Icel. *ātum*, OS. *ātun*, OHG. *āzum*, OE. *æton*, *we ate*; Lat. *mēnsis*, Gr. μήν, *month*, Goth. *mēna*, O.Icel. *māne*, OS. OHG. *māno*, OE. *mōna* (§ 121), *moon*; Goth. *ga-dēþs*, O.Icel. *dāð*, OS. *dād*, OHG. *tāt*, OE. *dæd*, *deed*, related to Gr. θήσω, *I shall place*.

§ 25. *i* (Lat. *i*, Gr. *ι*) remained, as Lat. *su-īnus* (adj.), *belonging to a pig*, Goth. *swein*, O.Icel. *svīn*, OS. OHG. OE. *swīn*, *swine, pig*; Lat. *sīmus*, OS. *sīn*, OHG. *sīm*, OE. *sī-en*, *we may be*.

§ 26. *ō* (Lat. *ō*, Gr. *ω*) remained, as Gr. πλωτός, *swimming*, Goth. *flōðus*, O.Icel. *flōð*, OHG. *fluot*, OS. OE. *flōd*, *flood, tide*, cp. Lat. *plōrāre*, *to weep aloud*; Gr. Dor. πώς, Goth. *fōtus*, O.Icel. *fōtr*, OHG. *fuoꝛ*, OS. OE. *fōt*, *foot*; Goth. *dōms*, O.Icel. *dōmr*, OHG. *tuom*, OS. OE. *dōm*, *judgment, sentence*, related to Gr. θωμός, *heap*.

§ 27. *ū* (Lat. *ū*, Gr. *υ*) remained, as Lat. *mūs*, Gr. μῦς, O.Icel. OHG. OE. *mūs*, *mouse*; Lat. *sūs*, Gr. ὕς, OHG.

OE. *sū*, *sow*, *pig*; Goth. *fūls*, O.Icel. *fūll*, OHG. OE. *fūl*, *foul*, related to Lat. *pūteō*, *I smell bad*, Gr. *πύθω*, *I make to rot*.

§ 28. *ai* (Lat. *ae* (*ē*), Gr. *αι*, Goth. *ái*, O.Icel. *ei*, OS. *ē*, OHG. *ei* (*ē*), OE. *ā*) remained, as Lat. *aedēs*, *sanctuary*, originally *fire-place*, *hearth*, Gr. *αἶθω*, *I burn*, OHG. *eit*, OE. *ād*, *funeral pile*, *ignis*, *rogus*; Lat. *aes*, Goth. *áiz*, O.Icel. *eir*, OHG. *ēr*, OE. *ār*, *brass*, *metal*, *money*; Lat. *caedō*, *I hew*, *cut down*, Goth. *skáidan*, OS. *skēdan*, *skēðan*, OHG. *sceidan*, OE. *scādan*, *sceādan* (§ 133, Note 2), *to divide*, *sever*.

§ 29. *ei* (Lat. *ī* (older *ei*), Gr. *ει*) became *ī*, as Gr. *στείχω*, *I go*, Goth. *steigan* (*ei* = *ī*), O.Icel. *stīga*, OS. OHG. OE. *stīgan*, *to ascend*; Gr. *λείπω*, *I leave*, Goth. *leihvan*, OS. OHG. *lihan*, OE. *lēon* from **liohan*, older **lihan* (§ 127), *to lend*; Lat. *dīcō*, *I say*, *tell*, Gr. *δείκνυμι*, *I show*, Goth. *ga-teihan*, *to tell*, *declare*, OS. *af-tīhan*, *to deny*, OHG. *zihan*, OE. *tēon*, *to accuse* (§ 127).

§ 30. *oi* (O.Lat. *oi* (later *ū*), Gr. *οι*) became *ai* (cp. § 20), as Gr. *οἶδε*, Goth. *wáit*, O.Icel. *veit*, OS. *wēt*, OHG. *weiz*, OE. *wāt*, *he knows*; O.Lat. *oinos*, later *ūnus*, Goth. *áins*, O.Icel. *einn*, OS. *ēn*, OHG. *ein*, OE. *ān*, *one*, cp. Gr. *οἷνῃ*, *the one on dice*; Gr. *πέ-ποιθε*, *he trusts*, Goth. *báip*, O.Icel. *beið*, OS. *bēd*, OHG. *beit*, OE. *bād*, *he waited for*.

§ 31. *au* (Lat. *au*, Gr. *αυ*, Goth. *áu*, O.Icel. *au*, OS. *ō*, OHG. *ou* (*ō*), OE. *ēa*) remained, as Lat. *auris*, Goth. *áusō*, OS. OHG. *ōra*, OE. *ēare*, *ear*; Lat. *augeō*, Gr. *αὐξάνω*, *I increase*, Goth. *áukan*, O.Icel. *auka*, OS. *ōkian*, OHG. *ouhhōn*, OE. *ēacian*, *to add*, *increase*.

§ 32. *eu* (Lat. *ou* (later *ū*), Gr. *ευ*, Goth. *iu*, O.Icel. *jō* (*jū*), OS. OHG. *io*, OE. *ēo*) remained, as Gr. *γεύω*, *I give a taste of*, Goth. *kiusan*, O.Icel. *kjōsa*, OS. OHG. *kiosan*, OE. *cēosan*, *to test*, *choose*; Gr. *πεύθομαι*, *I inquire*, Goth. *ana-biudan*, *to order*, *command*, O.Icel. *bjōða*, OS. *biodan*, OHG. *biotan*, OE. *bēodan*, *to offer*; Lat. *doucō* (*dūcō*),

I lead, Goth. **tiuhan**, OS. **tiohan**, OHG. **ziohan**, OE. **tēon** (§ 139), *to lead, draw*. See § 44.

§ 33. **ou** (Lat. **ou** (later **ū**), Gr. **ου**) became **au** (cp. § 20), as prim. Indg. ***roudhos**, Goth. **ráuþs**, O.Icel. **rauðr**, OS. **rōd**, OHG. **rōt**, OE. **rēad**, *red*, cp. Lat. **rūfus**, *red*; prim. Indg. ***bhe-bhoudhe**, *has waked*, Goth. **báuþ**, O.Icel. **bauð**, OS. **bōd**, OHG. **bōt**, OE. **bēad**, *has offered*.

§ 34. **m** (Lat. **em**, Gr. **α, αμ**) became **um**, as Gr. **ἀπο- (in ἀπόθεν, from some place or other)**, Goth. **sums**, O.Icel. **sumr**, OS. OHG. OE. **sum**, *some one*; Gr. **ἐκατόν**, Lat. **centum** (with **n** from **m** by assimilation, and similarly in the Germanic languages), Goth. OE. OS. **hund**, OHG. **hunt**, *hundred*, all from a prim. form ***kmtóm**.

§ 35. **n** (Lat. **en**, Gr. **α, αν**) became **un**, as Lat. **com-mentus** (pp.), *invented, devised*, Gr. **αὐτόματος**, *acting of one's own will*, Goth. **ga-munds**, OHG. **gi-munt**, OE. **ge-mynd** (§ 112), *remembrance*, prim. form ***mntós** (pp.) from root **men-**, *think*; OS. **wundar**, OHG. **wuntar**, OE. **wundor**, *wonder*, cp. Gr. **ἀθρέω** from ***φαθρέω**, *I gaze at*.

§ 36. **r** (Lat. **or**, Gr. **αρ, ρα**) became **ur**, **ru**, as OHG. **gi-turum**, OE. **durron**, *we dare*, cp. Gr. **θαρσύς** (**θρασύς**), *bold*, **θαρσέω**, *I am of good courage*; dat. pl. Gr. **πατράσι**, Goth. **fadrum**, OHG. **faterum**, OE. **fæd(e)rum**, *to fathers*; Lat. **porca**, *the ridge between two furrows*, OHG. **furuh**, OE. **furh**, *furrow*.

§ 37. **l** (Lat. **ol**, Gr. **αλ, λα**) became **ul**, **lu**, as Goth. **fulls**, O.Icel. **fullr**, OHG. **vol**, OS. OE. **full**, prim. form ***plnós**, *full*; Goth. **wulfs**, O.Icel. **ulfr**, OHG. **wolf**, OS. OE. **wulf**, prim. form ***wlqos**, *wolf*.

NOTE.—If we summarize the vowel-changes which have been stated in this chapter, it will be seen that the following vowel-sounds fell together:—**a**, **o**, and **ə**; original **u** and the **u** which arose from Indg. vocalic **l**, **m**, **n**, **r**; **i** and **ei**; **ā** and **ō**; **ai** and **oi**; **au** and **ou**.

CHAPTER III

THE PRIMITIVE GERMANIC VOWEL-SYSTEM

§ 38. From what has been said in §§ 17-37, we arrive at the following vowel-system for the prim. Germanic language:—

Short vowels	a, e, i, u
Long „	ā, ē, ī, ō, ū
Diphthongs	ai, au, eu

NOTE.—ā was an open e-sound like OE. *ā*. ē was a close sound like the *e* in NHG. *reh*. The origin of this vowel has not yet been satisfactorily explained. It is important to remember that it is never the equivalent of Indo-Germanic *ē* (§ 24) which appears as *ā* in prim. Germanic. See §§ 119, 125.

§ 39. This system underwent several modifications during the prim. Germanic period, i.e. before the parent language became differentiated into the various separate Germanic languages. The most important of these changes were:—

§ 40. *a* + *ŋx* became *āx*, as Goth. OS. OHG. *fāhan*, O.Icel. *fā*, OE. *fōn* (§ 139), from **faŋxanan*, *to catch, seize*, cp. Lat. *pangō*, *I fasten*; Goth. *þāhta*, OS. *thāhta*, OHG. *dāhta*, OE. *þōhte* (inf. *þencan*), from older **paŋxta*, **paŋxtō*, *I thought*, cp. O.Lat. *tongeō*, *I know*. Every prim. Germanic *ā* in accented syllables was of this origin. Cp. § 23.

NOTE.—The *ā* in the above and similar examples was still a nasalized vowel in prim. Germanic, as is seen by its development to *ō* in OE. The *ī* (§ 41) and *ū* (§ 43) were also nasalized vowels in prim. Germanic.

§ 41. *e* became *i* under the following circumstances:—
1. Before a nasal + consonant, as Goth. OS. OE.

bindan, O.Icel. binda, OHG. bintan, *to bind*, cp. Lat. of-fendimentum, *chin-cloth*, of-fendix, *knot, band*, Gr. πενθερός, *father-in-law*; Lat. ventus, Goth. winds, O.Icel. vindr, OHG. wint, OS. OE. wind, *wind*; Gr. πέντε, Goth. fimf, O.Icel. fim(m), OHG. fimf, finf, OE. fif (§ 97), *five*. This explains why OE. bindan, *to bind*, and helpan, *to help*, belong to the same ablaut-series. See § 226.

This i became ī under the same conditions as those by which a became ā (§ 40), as Goth. þeihan, OS. thīhan, OHG. dīhan, OE. þēon (§ 127), from *þiŋxanan, older *þenxanan, *to thrive*; and similarly OHG. sīhan, OE. sēon, *to strain*; OHG. fihala, OE. fēol, *file*; OHG. dīhsala, OE. pīxl (pīsl), *wagon-pole, shaft*.

2. When followed by an i, ī, or j in the next syllable, as Goth. OS. OHG. ist, OE. is, from *isti, older *esti = Gr. ἔστι, *is*; OHG. irdin, *earthen*, beside erda, *earth*; Goth. midjis, O.Icel. miðr, OS. middi, OHG. mitti, OE. midd, Lat. medius, from an original form *medhjos, *middle*; OS. birid, OHG. birit, *he bears*, from an original form *bhéreti, through the intermediate stages *béredi, *bériði, *biriði, beside inf. beran; O.Icel. sitja, OS. sittian, OHG. sizzen, OE. sittan, from an original form *sedjonon, *to sit*; and similarly O.Icel. liggja, OS. liggian, OHG. liggen, OE. licgan, *to lie down*.

This sound-law accounts for the difference in the stem-vowels of such pairs as OE. feld (OHG. feld), *field*: gefilde (OHG. gifildi), *a plain*; feper, *feather*: fipere, *wing*; weder (OHG. wetar), *weather*: gewider (OHG. giwiriti), *storm*; heord (OHG. herta), *herd*: hierde (OHG. hirti), *shepherd*; helpan, *to help*: hilpst, hilpp (OHG. hilfs, hilfit); beran, *to bear*: bir(e)st, bir(e)p (OHG. biris, birit), and similarly in the second and third person singular of the present indicative of many other strong verbs; pp. legen, seten: inf. licgan, *to lie down*, sittan, *to sit*.

3. In unaccented syllables, except in the combination *-er* when not followed by an *i* in the next syllable, as OE. *fēt*, older *fōet*, from **fōtiz*, older **fōtes*, *feet*, cp. Lat. *pedes*, Gr. *πόδες*. Indg. *e* remained in unaccented syllables in the combination *-er* when not followed by an *i* in the next syllable, as acc. OS. *fader*, OHG. *fater*, OE. *fæder*, Gr. *πατέρα*, *father*; OE. *hwæper*, Gr. *πότερος*, *which of two*.

§ 42. *i*, followed originally by an *ă*, *ō*, or *ē* in the next syllable, became *e* when not protected by a nasal + consonant or an intervening *i* or *j*, as O.Icel. *verr*, OS. OHG. OE. *wer*, Lat. *vir*, from an original form **wiros*, *man*; OHG. OE. *nest*, Lat. *nīdus*, from an original form **nizdos*. In historic times, however, this law has a great number of exceptions owing to the separate languages having levelled out in various directions, as OE. *spec* beside *spic*, *bacon*; OHG. *lebara* beside OE. *lifer*, *liver*; OHG. *leccōn* beside OE. *liccian*, *to lick*; OHG. *lebēn* beside OE. *libban*, *to live*; OHG. *quec* beside OE. *cwic*, *quick*, *alive*.

§ 43. *u*, followed originally by an *ă*, *ō*, or *ē* in the next syllable, became *o* when not protected by a nasal + consonant or an intervening *i* or *j*, as OS. *dohter*, OHG. *tohter*, OE. *dohtor*, Gr. *θυγάτηρ*, *daughter*; O.Icel. *ok*, OHG. *joh*, OE. *geoc* (§ 110), Gr. *ζυγόν*, *yoke*; OHG. *got*, OS. OE. *god*, from an original form **ghutóm*, *god*; OHG. OE. *gold*, *gold*, beside OHG. *guldīn*, OE. *gylden*, *golden*; pp. OS. *giholpan*, OHG. *giholfan*, OE. *geholpen*, *helped*, beside pp. OS. *gibundan*, OHG. *gibuntan*, OE. *gebunden*, *bound*; pp. OS. *gibodan*, OHG. *gibotan*, OE. *geboden*, *offered*, beside pret. pl. OS. *budun*, OHG. *butum*, OE. *budon*, *we offered*. Every prim. Germanic *o* in accented syllables was of this origin. Cp. § 20.

This sound-law accounts for the difference in the stem-vowels of such pairs as OE. *cnotta*, *knot*: *cnyttan* from

**knuttjan*, to tie; *coss*, a kiss: *cyssan*, to kiss; *corn*, *corn*: *cyrnel*, kernel; *fox*: *fyxen*, she-fox; *god*: *gyden* (OHG. *gutin*), goddess; *hold*, gracious: *hyldo* (OHG. *huldī*), grace, favour; pret. *bohte*, worhte: inf. *bycgan*, to buy, *wyrcan*, to work.

u became ū under the same conditions as those by which a and i became ā and ī, as pret. third pers. singular Goth. *pūhta*, OS. *thūhta*, OHG. *dūhta*, OE. *pūhte*, beside inf. Goth. *pugkjan*, OS. *thunkian*, OHG. *dunken*, OE. *þyncan*, to seem; Goth. *ūhtwō*, OS. OHG. *ūhta*, OE. *ūhte*, daybreak, dawn; OHG. *fūhti*, OE. *fūht*, damp.

§ 44. The diphthong *eu* became *iu* when the next syllable originally contained an *i*, *ī*, or *j*, cp. § 41 (2), but remained *eu* when the next syllable originally contained an *ā*, *ō*, or *ē*. The *iu* remained in OS. and OHG., but became *jū* (*ȳ* by i-umlaut) in O.Icel., and *īo*, (*īe* by i-umlaut) in OE., as Goth. *liuhtjan*, OS. *liuhtian*, OHG. *liuhten*, OE. *liehtan*, to give light: OE. *lēoht*, a light; O.Icel. *dýpt*, OS. *diupi*, OHG. *tiufī*, OE. *diepe*, depth: OE. *dēop*, deep; OS. *liudi*, OHG. *liuti*, OE. *līode*, people; OS. *kiusid*, OHG. *kiusit*, O.Icel. *kýs(s)*, OE. *cīesp*, he chooses: OE. *cēosan*, to choose. See § 138.

§ 45. From what has been said in §§ 40-4, it will be seen that the prim. Germanic vowel-system had assumed the following shape before the Germanic parent language became differentiated into the various separate languages:—

Short vowels	a, e, i, o, u
Long „	ā, æ, ē, ī, ō, ū
Diphthongs	ai, au, eu, iu

The following table contains the normal development of the above vowel-system in Goth. O.Icel. OS. OHG. and OE. stem-syllables:—

P. Germ.	Goth.	O.Icel.	OS.	OHG.	OE.
a	a	a	a	a	æ
e	i	e	e	e	e
i	i	i	i	i	i
o	u	o	o	o	o
u	u	u	u	u	u
ā	ā	ā	ā	ā	ō
æ	ē	ā	ā	ā	ǣ
ē	ē	ē	ē	ia, (ie)	ē
ī	ei	ī	ī	ī	ī
ō	ō	ō	ō	uo	ō
ū	ū	ū	ū	ū	ū
ai	ái	ei	ē	ei	ā
au	áu	au	ō	ou	ēa
eu	iu	jō	eo, (io)	eo, (io)	ēo
iu	iu	jū	iu	iu	īo

NOTE.—The table does not include the sound-changes which were caused by umlaut, the influence of neighbouring consonants, &c. For details of this kind the student should consult the grammars of the separate languages. But as we shall have occasion to make use of many Gothic, OS. and OHG.

forms in this grammar, the following points should be noted here :—

1. Goth. *i* and *u* were broken to *ai* (= short open *e*) and *au* (= short open *o*) before *r*, *h*, and *hr*, as *baíran*, OE. *beran*, *to bear*; *saívan*, OHG. *sehan*, *to see*; *bafríp*, OHG. *birít*, *he bears*; *saífríp*, OHG. *sihit*, *he sees*; pp. *baúrans*, OE. *boren*, *borne*; *daúhtar*, OE. *dohtor*, *daughter*; *waúrms*, OHG. *wurm*, *serpent*, *worm*; *saúhts*, OHG. *suht*, *sickness*. Gothic *ei* was a monophthong and was pronounced like the *i* in the other Germanic languages. Germanic *ai* and *au* remained in Gothic, but they are generally written *ái* and *áu* in order to distinguish them from the short vowels *ai* and *au*.

2. *a* was the only vowel which underwent i-umlaut in OS. and OHG., as sing. *gast*, pl. *gesti* = Goth. *gasteis*, *guests*; OS. *sendian*, OHG. *senten* = Goth. *sandjan*, *to send*. When it is necessary for phonological reasons to distinguish between this *e* and Germanic *e*, the latter is written *ē* in this book, as *bēran*, *to bear*.

3. Prim. Germanic *ai* became *ē* in OHG. before *r*, *w*, and old *h*, as *ēr*, *before* = Goth. *áir*, *soon*; *ēht* = Goth. *áihts*, *possession*; gen. *snēwes*, Goth. nom. *snáiws*, *snow*.

4. Prim. Germanic *au* became *ō* in OHG. before the consonants *d*, *t*, *z*, *s*, *n*, *r*, *l*, and old *h*, as *tōd* = Goth. *dáupus*, *death*; *kōs* = Goth. *káus*, *he chose*; *hōh* = Goth. *háuhs*, *high*.

CHAPTER IV

THE OLD ENGLISH DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRIM. GERMANIC VOWELS OF ACCENTED SYLLABLES

§ 46. Before entering upon the history of the separate Germanic vowels in OE. it will be well to state and illustrate here several phenomena which concern the OE. vowels in general.

I. UMLAUT.

§ 47. Umlaut is of two kinds: Palatal and Guttural. Palatal umlaut, generally called i-umlaut, is the modification

(palatalization) of an accented vowel through the influence of an *ī* or *j* which originally stood in the following syllable. This process took place in prehistoric OE. and the *ī* or *j* had for the most part already disappeared in the oldest OE. records. The *i*, which remained, mostly became *e* at an early period (§ 215, Note), so that for the proper understanding of the forms which underwent i-umlaut it is necessary to compare them with the corresponding forms of some other Germanic language, especially with the Gothic. The simple vowels and diphthongs which underwent i-umlaut in OE. are: *a(o)*, *æ*, *o*, *u*; *ā*, *ō*, *ū*; *ea*, *io*; *ēa* and *īo*.

a(o) > *e* (but *æ* in the oldest period), as *benc* from **ban̥kiz*, *bench*; *ende*, Goth. *andeis*, *end*; *lengra*, OHG. *lengiro*, *longer*; *lengþ(u)* from **langipu*, *length*; *sendan*, Goth. *sandjan*, *to send* (§ 60).

æ > *e*, as *bedd*, Goth. *badi*, *bed*; *bet(e)ra*, Goth. *batiza*, *better*; *hebban*, Goth. *hafjan*, *to raise*; *here*, Goth. *harjis*, *army*; *lecgan*, Goth. *lagjan*, *to lay* (§ 55).

o > *e* (older *œ*), as *dat. dehter* from **dohtri*, *beside nom. dohtor*, *daughter*; *ele*, Lat. *oleum*, *oil*; *exen*, *oxen*, *beside oxa*, *ox* (§ 107).

u > *y*, as *bycgan*, Goth. *bugjan*, *to buy*; *cyning*, OHG. *kuning*, *king*; *cynn*, Goth. *kuni*, *race, generation*; *gylden*, OHG. *guldin*, *golden*; *þyncan*, Goth. *þugkjan*, *to seem* (§ 112).

ā > *æ*, as *dāelan*, Goth. *dailjan*, *to divide*; *ænig*, *any*; *hāelan*, Goth. *hailjan*, *to heal*; *hæþ*, Goth. *háiþi*, *heath* (§ 134); *lāewan*, Goth. *lēwjan*, *to betray* (§ 120).

ō > *ē* (older *œ*), as *bēc* from **bōkiz*, *books*; *dēman*, Goth. *dōmjan*, *to judge*; *fēt*, OHG. *fuozzi*, *feet*; *sēcan*, Goth. *sōkjan*, *to seek* (§ 129). *wēnan*, Goth. *wēnjan*, *to hope*; *cwēn* from **kwōni*, older **kwāniz*, Goth. *qēns*, *queen, wife* (§ 122). *ēhtan* from **ōhtjan*, *to persecute*; *fēhþ*, *he seizes*, *beside inf. fōn* (§ 118). *ēst* from **ōsti*, older

*anstiz, Goth. ansts, *favour*; tēþ, prim. Germanic *tanþiz, *teeth* (§ 62).

ū > ŷ, as mŷs from *mūsiz, *mice*; brŷcst from *brūkis, *thou enjoyest*, brŷcþ from *brūkiþ, *he enjoys*, beside inf. brūcan (§ 132). cŷ from *kū-iz, *cows* (§ 130). cŷpan from *kūþjan, older *kunþjan, *to make known*; dŷstig, *dusty* (§ 114).

ea > ie (later i, y), as fiellan from *fealljan, older *falljan, *to fell*; ieldra, Goth. alpiza, *older* (§ 65). ierfe, Goth. arbi, *inheritance*; iermp(u), OHG. armida, *poverty* (§ 67). scieppan, Goth. skapjan, *to create* (§ 73). hliehhan, Goth. hlahjan, *to laugh*; wiexþ, OHG. wahsit, *it grows* (§ 69).

io > ie (later i, y), as hierde, OHG. hirti, *shepherd*; ierre, OHG. irri, *angry*; siehst, OHG. sihis, *thou seest*; siehþ, OHG. sihit, *he sees*; wiersa, OHG. wirsiro, *worse* (§ 99).

ēa > ie (later ī, ŷ), as geliefan, Goth. galáubjan, *to believe*; hiehsta, Goth. háuhista, *highest*; hīeran, Goth. háusjan, *to hear* (§ 136). cīese, Lat. cāseus, *cheese*; nīehsta from *nēahista, *nearest* (§ 123). stīele, Germanic stem-form staxlja-, *steel* (§ 71). wīelisc, prim. Germanic walxi-skaz, *foreign* (§ 64, Note 1).

io > ie (later ī, ŷ), as cīesp from *kīosiþ, older *kīusiþ, *he chooses*; tiēhþ from *tīohiþ, *he draws*; liehtan, Goth. liuhtjan, *to give light* (§ 138). liehtan from liochtjan, older *līxtjan, *to lighten, make easier*; liehþ from *līohiþ, OHG. līhit, *he lends* (§ 127). frīend, prim. Germanic *frijōndiz, *friends* (§ 104).

§ 48. Guttural umlaut is the modification of an accented vowel (a, e, i) through the influence of a primitive OE. guttural vowel (u, ö, a) in the next syllable, whereby a guttural glide was developed after the vowels a, e, i, which then combined with them to form the diphthongs ea, eo, io. As a rule umlaut only took place before a single consonant.

When the vowel which caused umlaut was *u*, it is called *u-umlaut*, and when *ö*, or *a*, it is called *o/a-umlaut*.

u- and *o/a-*umlaut of *a* only took place in Mercian, as *featu*, *vats*, *heafuc*, *hawk*, *steapul*, *pillar*, *steapul*, *foundation*, beside *fatu*, *hafoc*, *stapol*, *stapol* in the other dialects. *fearan*, *to go*, *fearap*, *they go*, *feata*, *of vats*, beside *farán*, *farap*, *fata* in the other dialects. See § 78.

*u-*umlaut of *e* and *i*, and *o/a-*umlaut of *i* took place in Ken. before all single consonants, in Anglian before all single consonants except gutturals (*c*, *g*), but in WS. only before labials and liquids, as *eofor* (OHG. *ebur*), *boar*; *heolostor* from older *helustr*, *hiding place*; *heorut*, *hart*. *meodu*, *mead (drink)*, *eosol*, *donkey* = WS. *medu*, *esol*. Ken. *breogo*, *prince* = WS. and Anglian *brego*, see § 92. *mioluc*, *milk*; *cliopung*, *calling*. *siodu*, *custom*, *sionu*, *sinew* = WS. *sidu*, *sinu*. Ken. *siocol*, *sickle*, *stiogol*, *stile* = WS. and Anglian *sicol*, *stigol*, see § 101. *liofast*, *thou livest*. *nioma(n)*, *to take*, *niomap*, *they take*, *wiotan*, *to know* = WS. *niman*, *nimap*, *witan*. Ken. *stiocian* from **stikōjan*, *to prick* = WS. and Anglian *stician*, see §§ 92-3, 102.

*o/a-*umlaut of *e* did not take place in WS. In Ken. it took place before all single consonants and in Anglian before all single consonants except gutturals, as *beoran*, *to bear*, *eotan*, *to eat*, *feola*, *many* = WS. *beran*, *etan*, *fela*. Ken. *weogas*, *ways*, *spreocan*, *to speak* = WS. and Anglian *wegas*, *spreca(n)*, see § 93.

2. MAKING.

§ 49. Breaking is due to the influence of an *l*, *r*, or *h* + consonant, or single *f* on a preceding vowel (Germanic *a*, *e*, *i*; *æ*, *i*) whereby a guttural glide was developed between the vowel and the consonant, which then combined with the vowel to form a diphthong. For the reason why breaking took place before *l* and *r* + consonant more regu-

larly in WS. and Ken. than in Anglian, see § 7. In the examples given below we shall confine ourselves chiefly to WS.

a (æ) > ea, as *ceald*, Goth. *kalds*, *cold*; *healdan*, Goth. *haldan*, *to hold* (§ 64); *bearn*, Goth. *barn*, *child*; *heard*, Goth. *hardus*, *hard* (§ 66); *eahta*, Goth. *ahtáu*, *eight*; *weaxan*, Goth. *wahsjan*, *to grow*; *seah*, OHG. *sah*, *he saw* (§ 68).

e > eo, as *meolcan*, OHG. *melkan*, *to milk*; *sceolh*, OHG. *scelh*, *wry, oblique* (§ 84); *eorþe*, OHG. *erda*, *earth*; *heorte*, OHG. *herza*, *heart* (§ 85); *cneohht*, OHG. *kneht*, *boy*; *seox*, OHG. *sehs*, *six*; *seoh*, *see thou* (§ 86).

i > io (later eo), as *liornian*, *leornian*, from **lirnōjan*, *to learn*; *miox*, *meox*, from **mihst*, *manure* (§ 98).

æ > ēa in WS. before h, as *nēah*, Goth. *nēh*, *near*; *nēar* from **nēahur*, older **næhur* (§ 123).

ī > īo (later ēo) in WS. before h and ht, as *lēoht*, Goth. *leihts*, *adj. light*; *wēoh*, *idol*, Goth. *weihs*, *holy* (§ 127).

3. INFLUENCE OF NASALS.

§ 50. a became a low-back-wide vowel, written a, o, before nasals, as *camp*, *comb*, *comb*; *nama*, *noma*, *name*; *land*, *lond*, *land*; *lang*, *long*, *long* (§ 59).

e > i before Germanic m (§ 81), and in early Latin loan-words before nasal + consonant (§ 82), as *niman*, OHG. *neman*, *to take*; *gimm*, Lat. *gemma*, *gem*; *pinsian*, Lat. *pensāre*, *to weigh, ponder, consider*.

o > u before nasals, as *guma*, OHG. *gomo*, *man*; *numen*, OHG. *ginoman*, *taken*; *hunig*, OHG. *honag*, *honey*; *punor*, OHG. *donar*, *thunder* (§ 109).

æ > ō before nasals (§ 121), as *mōna*, Goth. *mēna*, *moon*; *nōmon*, Goth. *nēmum*, *they took*.

Nasals disappeared before the voiceless spirants f, þ, and s with lengthening of the preceding vowel, as *fif*,

OHG. *fimf*, *five*; *ōsle*, OHG. *amsala*, *ousel* (§ 283); *cūþ*, Goth. *kunþs*, *known*; *gōs*, OHG. *gans*, *goose*; *ōþer*, Goth. *anþar*, *other* (§ 286).

4. INFLUENCE OF INITIAL PALATAL CONSONANTS.

§ 51. Between palatal *c* (§ 309), *g* (= Germanic *ǵ*, § 313), *g* (= Germanic *j*, § 268), *sc* (§ 312), and the following palatal vowel, a glide was developed in prim. OE., which combined with the vowel to form a rising diphthong, and then at a later period the rising diphthong became a falling diphthong through the shifting of the stress from the second to the first element of the diphthong. The examples given below are chiefly WS.; for the corresponding forms in the other dialects, the student should consult the paragraphs within brackets.

æ > *ea* (older *eæ*), as *ceaster*, Lat. *castra*, *city, fortress*; *ceaf*, *chaff*; *geaf*, Goth. *gaf*, *he gave*; *sceaft*, OHG. *scaft*, *shaft*; *sceal*, Goth. *skal*, *shall* (§ 72).

e > *ie* (older *ié*), as *cieres*, Lat. *cerasum*, *cherry-tree*; *giefan*, OHG. *geban*, *to give*; *scieran*, OHG. *sceran*, *to shear* (§ 91). *ciele* from **keli*, older **kaliz*, *cold*; *giest* from **gest*, older **gastiz*, *guest*; *sceppan* from **skeppan*, Goth. *skapjan*, *to create* (§ 73).

ǣ > *ēa* (older *eǣ*), as *cēace*, prim. Germanic **kǣkōn*-, *jaw*; *gēafon*, Goth. *gēbun*, *they gave*; *gēar*, Goth. *jēr*, *year*; *scēap*, Goth. **skēp*, *sheep* (§ 124).

NOTE.—In forms like *gioc*, *geoc* (OHG. *joh*), *yoke* (§ 110); *giong*, *geong* (OHG. *jung*), *young* (§ 116); *geōmor* (OHG. *jāmar*), *sad* (§ 122, Note), the *io*, *eo*, *eō* may have been rising diphthongs, but it is difficult to determine how far they were diphthongs at all, and how far the *i*, *e* were merely inserted to indicate the palatal nature of the *g* = Germanic *j* (§ 268). It is highly probable that in forms like *sceacan*, *to shake*, *sceadu*, *shadow*, beside *scacan*, *scadu* (§ 57, Note), *sceolde*, OHG. *scolta*, *should* (§ 110), *sceādan* beside *scādan*, *to divide*

(§ 133, Note 2), the *e* was merely inserted to indicate the palatal nature of the *sc* (§ 312).

5. INFLUENCE OF *w*.

§ 52. *e* and *ē* (= Germanic *ǣ*) were often rounded to *œ* and *œ̄* after *w* in Nth., as *cucœpa*, WS. *cweþan*, *to say* (§ 80, Note 1); *cucœlla*, WS. *cwellan*, *to kill*; *tucœlf*, WS. *twelf*, *twelve* (§ 55, Note 1). *huœr*, *where*, *wœron*, *were* = WS. *hwær*, *wæron* (§ 119, Note 2).

e became *eo* before *w* + a following vowel, as *gen. cneowes*, *treowes*, beside *nom. cnēo*, *knee*, *trēo*, *tree* (§ 89); *eowestre* (cp. Goth. *awistr*), *sheepfold*; *meowle* (Goth. *mawilō*), *maiden* (§ 77).

ǣ became *ā* before *w*, as *blāwan* from **blǣwan*, *to blow*; *cnāwan*, *to know*; *sāwon*, *they saw* (§ 120).

Initial *weo-* became *wu-* (rarely *wo-*) in late WS., as *swurd*, *sword*, *swuster*, *sister*, *worold*, *woruld*, *world*, beside older *sweord* (OHG. *swert*), *sweostor* (OHG. *swester*), *weorold* (OHG. *weralt*), see § 94.

Initial *wio-* became *wu-* in WS. and Anglian, but remained in Ken., as *wudu*, *wood*, beside Ken. *wiodu* (§ 103).

§ 53. The following was the chronological order in which the sound-laws stated in §§ 47-52 took place: (1) The influence of nasals. (2) Breaking. (3) The influence of initial palatal consonants. (4) *i*-umlaut. (5) *u*-, *o/a*-umlaut. (6) Influence of *w*.

NOTE.—In the case of words where diphthongization by preceding palatals and *u*-, *o/a*-umlaut concur, the latter has the predominance, as *geolo*, *yellow*; *geoloca*, *yolk*; *ceole* (acc. *ceolan*, § 403), *throat*. This does not however prove that *u*-, *o/a*-umlaut chronologically precedes diphthongization by preceding palatals. Either *geolo*, &c., are not pure WS. forms (see § 92) or else the *ie* became *eo* by umlaut, in which case forms like *giefu* (§ 365) would have *ie* from the oblique cases.

A. THE SHORT VOWELS OF ACCENTED SYLLABLES.

a

§ 54. Apart from the influence of neighbouring sounds the normal development of Germanic a (= Goth. O.Icel. OS. OHG. a) is æ in OE.

Examples in closed syllables are: *dæg*, Goth. *dags*, O.Icel. *dagr*, OS. *dag*, OHG. *tag*, *day*; *þæt*, Goth. *pata*, O.Icel. *þat*, OS. *that*, OHG. *daȝ*, *the*; and similarly *bæc*, *back*; *bæp*, *bath*; *blæc*, *black*; *bræs*, *brass*; *cræft*, *skill*; *dæl*, *dale*; *æfter*, *after*; *æt* (unstressed *ot*), *at*; *fæst*, *fast*, *firm*; *fæt*, *vat*, *vessel*; *glæd*, *glad*; *glæs*, *glass*; *græs* (*gærs*), *grass*; *hæfde*, *he had*; *hwæl*, *whale*; *hwæt*, *what*; *pæp*, *path*; *sægde*, *he said*; *smæl*, *small*; *stæf*, *staff*; in the pret. sing. of strong verbs belonging to classes IV (§ 503) and V (§ 505), as *bær* (Goth. O.Icel. OS. OHG. *bar*), *bore*; *bræc*, *broke*; *cwæp*, *said*; *sæt*, *sat*; *wæs*, *was*. On forms like *æppel*, *apple*, beside pl. *appla*, see § 57.

Examples in open syllables when followed by a palatal vowel, or a vocalic nasal or liquid in the next syllable, are: *æcer* (Goth. *akrs*), *field*, *acre*; *æcern*, *acorn*; *fæder*, *father*; *fæger* (Goth. *fagrs*), *fair*, *beautiful*; *hlædel*, *ladle*; *hræfen*, *hræfn*, *raven*; *hwæper*, *whether*; *mægen* (Goth. **magn*), *power*; *nægel*, *nægl* (Goth. **nagls*), *nail*; *wæter*, *water*; *fæpm* (Goth. **fapms*), *embrace*, *fathom*; *hægl*, *hail*; *snægl*, *snail*; *tægl*, *tail*; *wægn*, *wagon*; sing. gen. *dæges*, *fætes*, dat. *dæge*, *fæte*, beside nom. *dæg*, *day*; *fæt*, *vat*.

NOTE.—I. æ became e in Ken. and partly also in Mercian, as *deg*, *feder*, *fet*, *hefde*, *set*, *wes*, *weter* = WS. *dæg*, *fæder*, &c.

2. æ became æ̃ by loss of g, as *bræd*, *he brandished*; *mæden*, *maiden*; *sæde*, *he said*; *wæn*, *wagon*, beside *brægd*, *mægden* (§ 58), *sægde*, *wægn*.

3. a often occurs where we should expect æ. In such cases the a is due to levelling and new formations, as sing. gen. *papes*,

dat. *pape*, beside *pæpes*, *pæpe*, due to the plural forms *papas*, *papa*, *papum* (§ 336); fem. gen. dat. acc. singular *sace*, *swape*, beside *sæce*, *swæpe*, due to nom. singular *sacu*, *strife*, *quarrel*; *swapu*, *track*; and plural *saca*, *swapa*, &c. (§ 366); masc. gen. sing. *glades*, beside nom. *glæd*, *glad*, due to forms like dat. sing. and plural *gladum* (§ 424); imperative of strong verbs belonging to class VI (§ 508), as *far*, *sac*, due to the influence of the infinitive *faran*, *to go*, *travel*; *sacan*, *to quarrel*; and similarly in the pp. *faren*; *grafen*, *dug*; *hladen*, *loaded*, beside *græfen*, *hlæden*. On the analogy of such past participles was formed *slagen* beside *slægen*, *slain*.

§ 55. *æ* became *e* by i-umlaut, as *bedd*, Goth. *badi*, OHG. *betti*, *bed*; *bet(e)ra*, Goth. *batiza*, *better*; *hebban*, Goth. *hafjan*, OS. *heffian*, *to raise*; here, Goth. *harjis*, OS. OHG. *heri*, *army*; *lecgan*, Goth. *lagjan*, OS. *leggian*, *to lay*; and similarly *bere*, *barley*; *bet* from **batiz*, *better*; *cwellan* (wv.), *to kill*; *ege*, *awe*, *fear*; *elles*, *else*; *hege*, *hedge*; *hell* (Goth. *halja*), *hell*; *herian*, *to praise*; *hete*, *hate*; *mere*, *lake*; *mete*, *meat*, *food*; *nerian*, *to save*; *nett*, *net*; *secgan*, *to say*; *sellan*, *to sell*; *settan*, *to set*; *stede*, *place*; *swerian*, *to swear*; *tellan*, *to count*; *twelf* (Goth. *twalif*), *twelve*; *webb*, *web*; *weccan*, *to awake*. But *stæpe* beside *stepe*, *step*.

NOTE.—1. In Nth. *e* was often rounded to *œ* after *w*, as *cuœlla*, *to kill*; *tuœlf*, *twelve*.

2. The regular forms of the second and third pers. singular of the pres. indicative of strong verbs belonging to class VI (§ 508) would have *e*, as in OHG. *feris*, *thou goest*; *ferit*, *he goes*, but in OE. the *a* of the other forms of the present was extended to the second and third pers. singular, and then *a* became *æ* by i-umlaut, as *færest*, *færep*.

3. It is difficult to account for the absence of umlaut in *læccan*, *to seize*; *pæppan*, *to traverse*; *sæcc*, *strife*; *wæcce*, *vigil*; and for *gemæcca*, *mate*; *hæcc*, *gate*, *hatch*; *mæcg*, *man*, *warrior*; *stæppan*, *to step*; *wræcca* (OS. *wrekkio*), *exile*, beside the umlauted forms *gemecca*, *mecg*, *steppan*, *wrecca*.

§ 56. Umlaut generally did not take place before Germanic consonant combinations, as *dwæscan*, to *extinguish*; *æsc* from **askiz*, *ash-tree*; *æspe*, *aspen*; *fæstan*, to *fasten*; *hæftan*, to *hold captive*; *mæstan*, to *fatten*; *nægian*, to *nail*; *ræscan*, to *coruscate*. But umlaut occurs in *eft*, again; *esne*, *servant*; *rest*, *rest*; *restan*, to *rest*; and in *efnan*, to *perform*; *stefnan*, to *regulate*, beside *æfnan*, *stæfnan*.

§ 57. Germanic *a* remained in open syllables when originally followed by a guttural vowel (*ǣ*, *ö*, *ū*) in the next syllable, as pl. nom. acc. *dagas*, gen. *daga*, dat. *dagum*, beside sing. nom. *dæg*, *day*; gen. *dæges*, dat. *dæge*; neut. nom. acc. plural *baþu*, *baths*; *bladu*, *leaves* *fatu*, *vats*, beside singular *bæp*, *blæd*, *fæt*; OE. Goth. OS. OHG. *faran*, O.Icel. *fara*, to *go*, *travel*; *nacod*, Goth. *naqaþs*, OHG. *nackot*, *naked*; and similarly *alan*, to *nourish*; *apa*, *ape*; *bacan*, to *bake*; *calan*, to *be cold*; *caru*, *care*; *cradol*, *cradle*; *dragan*, to *draw*; pres. subj. *fare* (Goth. *farái*), *he may travel*; *gaderian* from **gaðu-rōjan*, to *gather*; *galan*, to *sing*; *gnagan*, to *gnaw*; *grafan*, to *dig*; *hafoc*, *hawk*; *hafola*, *hafela*, *head*; *hagol*, *hail*; *hagu*, *enclosure*; *hara*, *hare*; *hladan*, to *load*; *hrapor*, more *quickly*; *lagu*, *law*; *latost*, *latest*, *slowest*; *lapap*, *he invites*; *lapode*, *he invited*; *macaþ*, *he makes*; *macode*, *he made*; *magu*, *boy*; *nafula*, *nafela*, *navel*; *racu*, *narrative*; *sacan*, to *quarrel*; *sacu*, *strife*; *sadol*, *saddle*; *stapol*, *pillar*; *stapelian* from **staþulōjan*, to *establish*; *talū*, *statement*; *wadan*, to *go*, *wade*. *macian* from **makōjan*, to *make*; and similarly in the inf. of other weak verbs belonging to class II (§ 535), as *baþian*, to *bathe*; *dagian*, to *dawn*; *gladian*, to *be glad*; *hatian*, to *hate*; *laþian*, to *invite*.

It also remained in closed syllables before double consonants (except *hh*), *sc*, and *st*, when the next syllable originally contained a guttural vowel, as *abbod* (Lat. acc.

abbātem), *abbot*; *assa*, *donkey*; *catte* (OHG. *kazza*), *cat*; *cassuc*, *sedge*; *gaffetung*, *scoffing*; *habban* (§ 538), *to have*; *hassuc*, *coarse grass*; *maffa*, *caul*; *mattoç*, *mattock*; *sacc*, *sack*; *paccian*, *to flap*, *pat*; *flasce* (*flaxe*), *flask*; *masc* (*max*), *net*; *wasca*n (*waxan*), *to wash*; *brastlian*, *to crackle*. But a few words have *æ* beside *a*, as *æsce*, *ash*, *cinders*; *æppel*, *apple*; *hnæppian*, *to doze*; *læppa*, *lappet*, beside *asce* (*axe*), *appla*, *apples*, *hnappian*, *lappa*.

NOTE.—*sca* was often written *scea* with *e* to denote the palatal pronunciation of the *sc*, as *sceacan*, *to shake*; *sceadu*, *shadow*; *sceafan*, *to shave*; *scealu*, *scale* (*balance*); *sceamu* (*sceomu*, § 59), *shame*, beside *scacan*, *scadu*, *scafan*, *scalu*, *scamu* (*scomu*). See § 51, Note.

§ 58. *a* became *æ* when followed by an unlauded vowel in the next syllable, as *æces* (*æx*) from **akysi*, older **akusi*, *axe*; and similarly *æpele* from **apali* (OS. *aðali*), *noble*; *æpeling* from **apuling*, *nobleman*; *æt*, *tō-gædere* from **gaðuri*, *together*; *fæsten* (OS. *fastunnia*, *fasting*), *fortress*; *gædeling* (OS. *gaduling*), *companion*; *hælep* from **xalupi*, *hero*; *hærfest* from **xarubist*, *harvest*; *mægden* from **magadīn* (OHG. *magatīn*), *maiden*. The *æ* in the above examples is a kind of umlaut.

NOTE.—The *a* in the stem-syllable of the present participle and gerund of strong verbs belonging to class VI (§ 508) is due to the *a* of the infinitive, as *farende* for **færende* from **farandi*, *farenne* for **færenne* from **farannjai*.

§ 59. Germanic *a* was probably a mid-back-wide vowel like the *a* in German *Mann*. In OE. it became a low-back-wide vowel before nasals like the *â* in French *pâte*, and the *a* as pronounced in many Scotch dialects in such words as *ant*, *man*, *pass*, which English people often mistake for *o* especially when lengthened. In the oldest OE. it was nearly always written *a*, in the ninth century it was mostly written *o*, and in late OE. mostly *a* again, but

in some parts of Mercia it seems to have become o which has been preserved in many of the Midland dialects down to the present day. Examples are: *gangan*, *gongan*, Goth. *gaggan*, O.Icel. *ganga*, OS. OHG. *gangan*, *to go*; *hana*, *hona*, Goth. *hana*, O.Icel. *hane*, OS. OHG. *hano*, *cock*; *lang*, *long*, Goth. *laggs*, O.Icel. *langr*, OS. OHG. *lang*, *long*; *nama*, *noma*, Goth. *namō*, OS. OHG. *namo*, *name*; and similarly *ancor* (Lat. *ancora*), *anchor*; *bana*, *slayer*; *brand*, *firebrand*; *comb*, *comb*; *camp*, *battle*; *candel* (Lat. *candēla*), *candle*; *cann*, *he can*; *fana*, *banner*; *gandra*, *gander*; *gesamnian*, *to collect*; *hamor*, *hammer*; *hand*, *hand*; *lama*, *lame*; *lamb*, *lamb*; *land*, *land*; *manig* (Goth. *manags*), *many*; *mann*, *man*; *ramm*, *ram*; *spannan*, *to clasp, fasten*; *standan*, *to stand*; *strang*, *strong*; *þanc*, *thought*; *þwang*, *thong*; in the pret. singular of many strong verbs of class III (§ 498), as *begann*, *began*; *dranc*, *drank*; *fand*, *found*; *sang*, *sang*; *swamm*, *swam*; with metathesis of r in *born* from older *bronn*, *brann* (Goth. *brann*), *burned*; *orn* from older *ronn*, *rann* (Goth. *rann*), *ran*.

NOTE.—The a became o in unstressed adverbial and pronominal forms, as *hwonne*, *when*; *on*, *on*; *þonne*, *then*; masc. acc. singular *hwone*, *whom*; *þone*, *the*.

§ 60. a (o) became e (but æ in the oldest period) by i-umlaut, as ende, Goth. *andeis*, O.Icel. *ende*, OS. *endi*, OHG. *enti*, stem *andja-*, *end*; *lengra*, OS. *lengira*, OHG. *lengiro*, *longer*; sendan, Goth. *sandjan*, OS. *sendian*, *to send*; and similarly benc from **þankiz*, *bench*; *cemban*, *to comb*; *cempa*, *warrior*; *drencan*, *to give to drink*; *ened*, *duck*; *enge*, *narrow*; *englisc*, *English*; *fremman*, *to perform*; *henn*, *hen*; *lengþ*, *length*; *menn*, *men*; *mengan*, *to mix*; *mennisc*, *human*; *nemnan*, *to name*; *pening*, *penny*; *strengra*, *stronger*; *þencan*, *to think*; *wendan*, *to turn*. *bærnan* (Goth. *brannjan*), *to burn*; *ærnan* (Goth.

rannjan), to run, gallop, with metathesis of *r* and preservation of the older stage of umlaut.

§ 61. Nasals disappeared before the voiceless spirants, *f*, *p*, *s*, and the preceding *a* (*o*) became *ō* through the intermediate stage of a long nasalized vowel (cp. § 40), as *hōs*, Goth. OHG. *hansa*, band, escort, multitude; *ōper*, Goth. *anþar*, second, other; *sōfte*, OHG. *samfto*, gently, softly; and similarly *gōs*, goose; *ōs*, god; *ōsle* (OHG. *amsala*), blackbird; *smōpe*, smoothly; *sōþ*, true; *tōþ*, tooth; *þrōstle*, thrush, throistle; *wōs*, moisture.

§ 62. *ō* became *ē* (older *ǣ*) by i-umlaut, as *ēst*, Goth. *anst*, stem-form *ansti*, favour; *nēþan*, Goth. *ana-nanþjan*, to venture on; *tēþ* from **tanþiz*, teeth; and similarly *fēpe*, walking, movement; *gēs*, geese; *gesēþan*, to testify, declare; *sēfte*, soft; *smēpe*, smooth.

§ 63. *a* was broken to *ea* before *l*, *r*, and *h* + consonant, and before simple *h*. Forms without breaking often occur in the oldest period of the language. Breaking did not take place in Anglian before *l* + consonant, and frequently not before *r* + consonant. See *l*, *r* (§ 7).

§ 64. *i*. Before *l* + consonant.

eall, Goth. *alls*, O.Icel. *allr*, OS. OHG. *al*, all; *ceald*, Goth. *kalds*, O.Icel. *kaldr*, OS. *kald*, OHG. *kalt*, cold; *healdan*, Goth. OS. *haldan*, O.Icel. *halda*, OHG. *haltan*, to hold; and similarly *cealc*, chalk; *cealf*, calf; *dealf*, he dug; *eald*, old; *ealh*, temple; *fealdan*, to fold; *feallan*, to fall; *gealga*, gallows; *healf*, half; *heall*, hall; *healp*, he helped; *heals*, neck; *mealt*, malt; *sealf*, salve, ointment; *sealfian*, to anoint; *sealh*, willow; *sealt*, salt; *tealde*, he told; *wealdan*, to wield; *wealh*, foreigner, Welshman; *weall*, wall; *weallan*, to boil. Forms like *bealu*, bale, evil; *fealu*, fallow; *sealu*, dark, dusky, beside *balu*, *valu*, *salu*, have the *ea* from the inflected stem-form, as gen. *bealwes*, *fealwes*, *sealwes* (see § 265).

NOTE.—*i*. *ea* became *ēa* by loss of *h* before *a* following

vowel, as gen. singular *sēales*, *wēales*, nom. pl. *sēalas*, *wēalas*, beside nom. singular *sealh*, *wealh*. *ēa* became *ie* by i-umlaut, as *wielisc*, *foreign*, *Welsh*.

2. *a* remained unbroken in late Latin loanwords, as *albe* (Lat. *alba*), *alb*; *alter* (Lat. *altare*), *altar*; *fals* (Lat. *falsus*), *false*; *palm* (Lat. *palma*), *palm-tree*.

§ 65. *ea* became *ie* (later *i*, *y*) by i-umlaut, as *fiellan* from **fealljan*, older **falljan*, *to fell*; *fielst* from **feallis(t)*, *thou fallest*; *fielþ* from **feallip*, *he falls*; *ieldra* (Goth. *alpiza*), *older*; *ieldesta*, *oldest*; *ieldu*, *old age*; *mieltan* (wv.), *to melt*.

NOTE.—The corresponding vowel in Anglian is *æ* (also *e*), as *ældra*, *eldra*, *ældu*, *fælla(n)*, *fella(n)*; and in Ken. *e*, as *eldra*, *eldu*.

§ 66. 2. Before *r* + consonant.

bearn, Goth. O.Icel. OS. OHG. *barn*, *child*; *heard*, Goth. *hardus*, O.Icel. *harðr*, OS. *hard*, OHG. *hart*, *hard*; and similarly *beard*, *beard*; *bearg*, *pig*; *bearm*, *bosom*; *cearf*, *he carved*; *dearr*, *I dare*; *earc* (Lat. *arca*), *ark*; earm, *arm*; *earm*, *poor*; *eart*, *thou art*; *fearh*, *boar*, *pig*; *geard*, *yard*; *gearn*, *yarn*; *gearwian*, *to prepare*; *ge-mearcian*, *to mark*; *hearg*, *heathen temple*; *hearm*, *harm*; *mearc*, *boundary*; *mearg*, *marrow*; *mearh*, *horse*; *pearroc*, *park*; *scearp*, *sharp*; *swearm*, *swarm*; *wearm*, *warm*; *wearp*, *he threw*; *wearþ*, *he became*. Forms like *bearu*, *grove*; *gearu*, *ready*; *mearu*, *tender*; *nearu*, *narrow*; *searu*, *plot*, *device*, have *ea* from the inflected stem-form, as gen. *bearwes*, *gearwes*, *mearwes*, &c. (see § 265).

NOTE.—1. In Anglian *ea* became *æ* (later *e*) before *r* + guttural, as *berg*, *erc*, *færh* (*ferh*), *mærc* (*merc*), &c.

2. *a* remained unbroken in late Latin loanwords, as *carcern*, *prison*; *martyr*, *martyr*.

3. *ea* became *ēa* by loss of *h* before a following vowel, as gen. singular *fēares*, *mēares*, nom. pl. *fēaras*, *mēaras*, beside nom. singular *fearh*, *mearh*.

4. Forms like *ærn* (Goth. *razn*), *house*; pret. sing. *arn* (Goth. *rann*), *ran*; *barn* (Goth. *brann*), *burned*; *bærst* (OHG. *brast*), *burst*; *gærs* (Goth. *gras*), *grass*; *hærn*, *wave*, are due to a late metathesis of the *r*.

§ 67. *ea* became *ie* (later *i*, *y*) by i-umlaut, as *dierne*, OS. *derni*, OHG. *tarni*, *secret*; *ierfe*, Goth. *arbi*, OS. OHG. *erbi*, *inheritance*; and similarly *cierran*, *to turn*; *gierd*, *rod, twig*; *gierwan* from **gearwjan*, *to prepare*; *ierming*, *pauper*; *iermþu* (OHG. *armida*), *poverty*; *wierman*, *to warm*.

NOTE.—The corresponding vowel in the non-WS. dialects is *e*, as *derne*, *erfe*, *ermþu*, &c.

§ 68. 3. Before *h* + consonant (also *x* = *hs*) and simple *h*. *eahta*, Goth. *ahtáu*, OS. OHG. *ahto*, *eight*; *seah*, Goth. *sahr*, OS. OHG. *sah*, *he saw*; *weaxan*, Goth. *wahsjan*, O.Icel. *vaxa*, OS. OHG. *wahsan*, *to grow*; and similarly *eax*, *axle-tree*; *eaxl*, *shoulder*; *feaht*, *he fought*; *feax*, *hair*; *fleax*, *flax*; *gefeah*, *he rejoiced*; *geneahhe*, *enough, often*; *hleahtor*, *laughter*; *meaht* (later *miht*), *power, might*; *meaht*, *thou mayest*; *meahte*, *he might, could*; *neaht* (later *niht*), *night*; *seax*, *knife*; *sleah* (imperative), *slay thou*; *weax*, *wax*.

NOTE.—1. *ea* became *æ* in Anglian, as *æhta*, *fæx*, *hlæhtor*, *sæh*, *wæx*, &c.

2. It became *e* in late WS., as *ehta*, *exl*, *fex*, *seh*, *sex*, *sleh*, *wexan*.

§ 69. *ea* became *ie* (later *i*, *y*) by i-umlaut, as *hliehhan* (Goth. *hlahjan*), *to laugh*; *mieht* (Goth. *mahts*, stem-form *mahti*), *power, might*; *miehtig*, *mighty*; *nieht*, *night*; *sliehst* (Goth. *slahis*), *thou slayest*; *slihþ* (Goth. *slahit*), *he slays*; *sliht*, stem-form *slahti*, *slaughter*; *wiexþ* (OHG. *wahsit*), *it grows*.

NOTE.—The corresponding vowel in Anglian is *æ*, as *hlæhha(n)*, *mæht*, *mæhtig*, &c.

§ 70. *ea* became *ēa* by loss of intervocalic *h*, as *ēa*, Goth. *alva*, OS. OHG. *aha*, *water, river*; *slēan* from **sleahan*, Goth. OS. OHG. *slahan*, *to slay, strike*; and similarly *flēan*, *to flay*; *lēa* from **leahu*, *I blame*; *lēan*, *to blame*; *slēa*, *I slay*; *slēaþ* from **sleahaþ*, *they slay*; *þwēan*, *to wash*; *ēar* (Nth. *æhher*) from **eahur*, older **ahur*, OHG. *ahir*, *ear of corn*; *tēar* (Nth. *tæhher*) from **teāhur*, older **tahur*, OHG. *zahar*, *tear*.

§ 71. *ēa* became *īe* (later *ī*, *ȳ*) by i-umlaut, as *stiele* from **stiehle*, Germanic stem-form **staȝlja-*, *steel*.

§ 72. *æ* (older *a*) became *ea* (older *eæ*) after initial palatal *c*, *g*, and *sc*, as *ceaf*, *chaff*; *ceafor*, *cockchafer*; *ceaster* (Lat. *castra*), *city, fortress*; *forgeat* (OS. *forгат*), *he forgot*; *geaf* (Goth. *gaf*), *he gave*; *geat* (O.Icel. OS. *gat*), *gate, opening, hole*; *sceaft* (OHG. *scaft*), *shaft*; *sceal* (Goth. *skal*), *I shall*; *sceatt* (Goth. *skatts*), *money, property*.

NOTE.—I. Anglian has *æ* beside *ea*, and Ken. *e* (*æ*), as Anglian *cæster* (*ceaster*), *gæt* (*geat*), *scæl* (*sceal*) = Ken. *cester*, *get*, *scel*. *e* also occurs occasionally in Mercian.

2. Forms like *ceald*, *cold*; *cealf*, *calf*; *geard*, *yard*; *gearn*, *yarn*; *scealt*, *thou shalt*; *scearp*, *sharp*, are due to breaking (§§ 64, 66), which took place earlier than the influence of palatals upon a following *æ*. In both cases the *ea* became *e* in late WS., as *celf*, *gef*, *get*, &c.

§ 73. *ea* became *īe* (later *ī*, *y*) by i-umlaut, as *ciefes* from **kaþisō*, *concubine*; *ciele* from **kaliz*, *cold*; *cietel* (Lat. *catillus*), *kettle*; *giest* (Goth. *gasts*, stem-form *gasti-*), *guest*; *scieppan* (Goth. *skapjan*), *to create*.

NOTE.—The corresponding vowel in the non-WS. dialects is *e*, as *cefes*, *cele*, *gest*, *sceppan*, &c.

§ 74. Germanic *a* generally remained before the *w* which was regularly preserved in OE., as gen. dat. singular *clawe* beside nom. *clēa*, *claw*; *awul*, *awel*, *awl*; *þawian*, *to thaw*.

§ 75. *a + u* (which arose from *wu* or vocalized *w* (§ 265)) became *ēa* (cp. § 135), as *clēa* from **kla(w)u*, *claw*; nom.

acc. pl. neuter *fēa* from **fa(w)u*, *few*; dat. *fēam* from **fa(w)um*; *hrēa* from **hraw-*, *raw*; *strēa* from **straw-*, *straw*; *prēa* from **pra(w)u*, *threat*.

§ 76. Prim. Germanic *aww* (= Goth. *aggw*) became *auw* in West Germanic, which regularly became *ēaw* in OE. (cp. § 135), as *dēaw* (Goth. **daggwa-*, OHG. *tou*, gen. *tcuwes*), *dew*; *glēaw* (Goth. *glaggwu-ba*, *diligently*), *wise*; *hēawan* (Goth. **haggwan*, OHG. *houwan*), *to hew*; *scēawian* (Goth. **skaggwōn*, OHG. *scouwōn*), *to examine*, *view*.

§ 77. *a* became *e* by i-umlaut, then at a later period the *e* became *eo* before *w*, as *ewe* beside *eowe*, *eowu* (cp. Lat. *ovis*), *ewe*; *eowde*, *flock*, *herd*; *eowestre* (cp. Goth. *awistr*), *sheepfold*; *meowle* (Goth. *mawilō*), *girl*; *strewe* beside *streowede* (Goth. *strawida*), *he strewed*.

§ 78. In Mercian *a* became *ea* before single consonants by u- and o/a-umlaut, as *ealu*, *ale*; *beadu*, *battle*; *eafora*, *son*; *featu*, *vats*; *heafuc*, *hawk*; *heafola*, *head*; *heapu*, *war*; *steapul*, *pillar*; *steapul*, *foundation*. *fearan*, *to go*, *travel*; *fearap*, *they travel*; gen. pl. *feata*, *of vats*; *geata*, *of gates*; *gleadian*, *to rejoice*; *hleadan*, *to load*; *leatian*, *to be slow*. For the corresponding non-Mercian forms, see § 57.

NOTE.—1. The *ea* became *æ* before gutturals, as *dægas* (= WS. *dagas*), *days*; *dræca*, *dragon*; *mægun*, *they can*.

2. Umlaut rarely took place before double consonants, as *eappultūn* (WS. *æppeltūn*), *orchard*; *hneappian* (WS. *hnapian*), *to doze*.

3. WS. *ealu*, and forms like *eafora*, *heafoc*, &c., which are common in poetry, are all originally from the Mercian dialect.

§ 79. Final *a* was lengthened to *ā* in monosyllables, as *hwā* (Goth. *hwas*), *who*; *swā* (Goth. *swa*), *so*.

e

§ 80. Germanic *e* (= Goth. *i*, but *aí* before *r*, *h*, and *hv*, O.Icel. OS. OHG. *e*) often remained in OE., as OE. OS.

OHG. *feld*, *field*; *feper*, OS. *fethara*, OHG. *fedara*, *feather*; *weg*, Goth. *wigs*, O. Icel. *vegr*, OS. OHG. *weg*, *way*; and similarly *bes(e)ma*, *besom*; *cwene* (Goth. *qinō*, OHG. *quena*), *woman*; *denu*, *valley*; *ef(e)n*, *even*; *fela*, *much*; *fell*, *skin*; *fetor*, *fetter*; *helm*, *helmet*; *leper*, *leather*; *nefa*, *nephew*; *nest*, *nest*; *reg(e)n*, *rain*; *segl*, *sail*; *seldan*, *seldom*; *senep*, *mustard*; *setl*, *seat*; *snegl*, *snail*; *snell*, *quick*; *pegn*, *thane*; *weder*, *weather*; *wel* (adv.), *well*; *wer*, *man*; *west*, *west*; in the present of strong verbs belonging to classes III (§ 499), IV, and V, as *helpan*, Goth. *hilpan*, OS. *helpan*, OHG. *helfan*, *to help*; and similarly *belgan*, *to swell with anger*; *bellan*, *to bellow*; *delfan*, *to dig*; *meltan*, *to melt*; *swellan*, *to swell*; *sweltan*, *to die*; *beran*, *to bear*; *breccan*, *to break*; *helan*, *to conceal*; *stelan*, *to steal*; *teran*, *to tear*; *cnedan*, *to knead*; *cweþan*, *to say*; *etan*, *to eat*; *fretan*, *to devour*; *lesan*, *to collect*; *metan*, *to measure*; *spreccan*, *to speak*; *tredan*, *to tread*; *wefan*, *to weave*; *wesan*, *to be*.

NOTE.—1. In Nth. *e* was often rounded to *œ* after *w*, as *cwœpa*, *wœl*, *wœg* = WS. *cweþan*, *wel*, *weg*.

2. *e* became *ē* by loss of *g*, as *brēdan*, *to brandish*; *rēn*, *rain*; *strēdan*, *to strew*; *pēn*, *thane*, beside *bregdan*, *regn*, *stregdan*, *pegn*.

§ 81. *e* became *i* before Germanic *m*, as *niman* (OHG. *neman*), *to take*; *rima*, *rim*. This sound-change did not take place when the *m* arose from *f* by assimilation with *n*, as *emn*, *even*; *stemn*, *voice*, beside older *ef(e)n*, *stefn*.

§ 82. *e* became *i* before nasal + consonant in early Latin loanwords, but remained in later loanwords, as *gimm* (Lat. *gemma*), *gem*; *mint* (Lat. *mentha*), *mint*; *pinsian* (Lat. *pensāre*), *to consider*; but *templ* (Lat. *templum*), *temple*.

§ 83. *e* was broken to *eo* before *lc*, *lh*, before *r* and *h* + consonant, and before simple *h*. Breaking did not take place in Anglian before *lc*, *lh*.

§ 84. 1. Before *lc*, *lh*.

āseolcan, to become languid; *eolh* (OHG. *elaho*), *elk*; *meolcan* (OHG. *melkan*), to milk; *seolh* (OHG. *selah*), *seal*; *sceolh* (OHG. *scelh*, *scelah*), *wry*, *oblique*. But Anglian *elh*, *melca(n)*, *selh*, &c.

NOTE.—1. *eo* became *ēo* by loss of *h* before a following vowel, as *fēolan* from **feolhan* (= Goth. *filhan*, OHG. *bi-felhan*), to hide; gen. *ēoles*, *sēoles*, beside nom. *eolh*, *seolh*.

2. It is difficult to account for the breaking in *heolfor*, *blood*, *gore*; and *seolf*, *self*, beside the commoner form *self*.

§ 85. 2. Before *r* + consonant.

eorpe, Goth. *aírpa*, OS. *erða*, OHG. *erda*, *earth*; *heorte*, Goth. *hairsō*, OS. *herta*, OHG. *herza*, *heart*; *weorþan*, Goth. *wairþan*, O.Icel. *verða*, OS. *werðan*, OHG. *werdan*, to become; and similarly *beorcan*, to bark; *beorg*, *hill*; *beorgan*, to shelter; *beorht*, *bright*; *ceorfan*, to cut, carve; *ceorl*, *churl*; *deorc*, *dark*; *dweorg*, *dwarf*; *eorl*, *nobleman*, *earl*; *feorh*, *life*; *feorr*, *far*; *georn*, *eager*; *heord*, *herd*, *flock*; *heorþ*, *hearth*; *steorfan*, to die; *steorra*, *star*; *sweord*, *sword*; *weorc*, *work*; *weorpan*, to throw; *weorþ*, *worth*.

NOTE.—1. Breaking is older than the metathesis of *r* in forms like *berstan* (OHG. *brestan*), to burst; *fersc*, *fresh*; *þerscan*, to thrash.

2. The *eo* became *e* in Anglian before *r* + guttural, as *berga(n)*, *berht*, *derc*, *dwerg*, *ferh*, *werc* = WS. *beorgan*, *beorht*, &c.

3. The *eo* became *ea* in Nth., and *io* in Ken. (cp. § 137), as Nth. *earpe*, *hearte*, *stearra* = Ken. *iorpe*, *hiorte*, *stiorra* = WS. and Mercian *eorpe*, *heorte*, *steorra*.

4. *eo* became *ēo* by loss of *h* before a following vowel, as gen. *fēores*, *þwēores*, beside nom. *feorh*, *life*; *þweorh*, *perverse*, *across*.

§ 86. 3. Before *h* + consonant (also *x* = *hs*) and simple *h*.
cneohht (OHG. *kneht*), *boy*; *eoh*, *horse*; *feoh*, *cattle*;

feohtan (OHG. fehtan), *to fight*; Peohtas, *Picts*; pleoh, *danger*; reoht (Goth. raíhts, OS. OHG. reht), *right*; seox (Goth. saíhs, OS. OHG. sehs), *six*; imperative sing. seoh, *see thou*. But already at an early period the eo became ie (later i, rarely y) before hs and ht in WS. and i in Ken., as cnieht, cniht; ryht, riht; siex, six.

NOTE.—eo became e in Anglian, as cneht, feh, fehta(n), reht, sex = early WS. cnecht, feoh, &c.

§ 87. eo became ēo (īo) by loss of intervocalic h, as sēon (sīon) from *seohan, older *sehan = Goth. saíhvan, OS. OHG. sehan, *to see*; swēor from *sweohur, older *swehur = OHG. swehur, *father-in-law*; and similarly gefēon, *to rejoice*; gefēo from *gefeohu, *I rejoice*; plēon, *to risk*; sēo from *seohu, *I see*; gen. singular fēos, plēos, beside nom. feoh, *cattle*; pleoh, *danger*.

§ 88. Final ew became eu, and then eu became ēo at the same time as Germanic eu became ēo (see § 137), as sing. nom. cnēo, Germanic stem-form *knewa-, *knee*; trēo, *tree*; þēo, *slave, servant*. See § 265.

§ 89. Antevocalic ew became eow, as sing. gen. cneowes, treowes, þeowes, dat. cneowe, treowe, þeowe; þeowian (þiowian), *to serve*. Forms like nom. cnēow, trēow, þēow had the w from the inflected forms. And conversely forms like gen. cnēowes, trēowes, þēowes had ēo from the uninflected forms.

§ 90. Prim. Germanic eww (= Goth. iggw) became euw in West Germanic, and then euw became ēow in OE., as trēow (OS. treuwa, OHG. triuwa), *trust, faith*, cp. Goth. triggwa, *covenant*.

Prim. Germanic ewwj became iowj through the intermediate stages iwwj, iuwj, and then iowj became iēw(e) in WS. and iow(e), ēow(e) in non-WS., as WS. getriewe, non-WS. getriowe, getrēowe (OHG. gitriuwi), prim. Germanic *trewwjaz, cp. Goth. triggws, *true, faithful*; WS.

getriewan, non-WS. getriowan, getrēowan, prim. Germanic **trewwjān*, *to trust*. And similarly West Germanic *iwwj* (§ 254) from prim. Germanic *ewj*, as WS. *hiew*, *hīw*, non-WS. *hīow*, *hēow*, prim. Germanic stem-form **xewja-*, *shape, colour*; WS. *nīewe*, *nīwe*, non-WS. *nīowe*, *nēowe*, prim. Germanic stem-form **newja-*, *new*.

§ 91. e became ie (later i, y) after palatal c, g, and sc in WS., but remained e in Anglian and Ken., as *cieres*, *cires* (Lat. acc. *cerasum*), *cherry-tree*; *forgetan* (OS. *forgetan*), *to forget*; *giefan* (O.Icel. *gefa*, OS. *geban*, OHG. *geban*), *to give*; *giefu*, *gift*; *gielān*, *to yield*; *giellan*, *to yell*; *gielpān*, *to boast*; *giest* (cp. OHG. *jesan*, *to ferment*), *yeast*; *scield*, *shield*; *scieran* (OHG. *sceran*), *to shear*. But Anglian and Ken. *gefa(n)*, *gelda(n)*, *sceld*, &c.

NOTE.—The above sound-change took place later than breaking, cp. *ceorfan*, *ceorl*, *georn*, § 85.

§ 92. e became eo by u-umlaut in Ken. before all single consonants, in Anglian before all single consonants except gutturals (c, g), and in WS. before single labials and liquids, as *beofor*, *beaver*; *eofor* (OHG. *ebur*), *boar*; *geoloca*, *yolk*; *geolo* (OS. OHG. *gelo*, gen. *gēlwes*), *yellow*; *heofon*, *heaven*; *heolor*, *scales, balance*; *heolstor* from older *helustr*, *hiding place*; *heorut*, *hart*; *meolu* (OHG. *melo*, gen. *mel(a)wes*), *meal, flour*; *seofon*, *seven*; *smeoru*, *grease, fat*; *teoru*, *tar*; *weorod*, *troop*. Non-WS. *eodor*, *enclosure*; *eosol*, *donkey*; *feotor*, *fetter*; *meodu*, *mead (drink)*; *meotod*, *creator* = WS. *edor*, *esol*, *fetor*, *medu*, *metod*. Ken. *breogo*, *prince*; *reogol* (Lat. *regula*), *rule* = WS. and Anglian *breog*, *regol*.

NOTE.—1. u-umlaut took place in WS. in the combination *we*, as *hweogol*, *wheel*; *sweotol*, *plain, clear*; *weotuma*, *dowry*, and probably also before two consonants in *sweostor*, *sister*.

2. The regular forms due to u-umlaut were often obliterated in WS. by levelling, as *melu*, *meal, flour*, with *mel-* from the

gen. *melwes*, dat. *melwe*; pl. nom. *speru*, *spears*; dat. *sperum*, due to the forms of the singular, as *spere*, gen. *speres*, gen. pl. *spera*; and similarly for many other forms.

§ 93. *e* became *eo* by *o/a*-umlaut in Ken. before all single consonants, and in Anglian (but Nth. generally *ea*) before all single consonants except gutturals (*c*, *g*), as *beoran*, to bear; *eotan*, to eat; *feola*, many; *meotan*, to measure; *seofa*, heart; *steolan*, to steal; *treodan*, to tread; *weofan*, to weave = WS. *beran*, *etan*, *fela*, *metan*, *sefa*, *stelan*, *tredan*, *wefan*. But Ken. *weogas*, ways; *spreocan*, to speak = WS. and Anglian *wegas*, *sprecan*. Nth. *beara*, *eata*, *treada* = WS. *beran*, *etan*, *tredan*.

§ 94. The combination *weo-* which arose from breaking (§§ 84-6), or from *u*, *o/a*-umlaut (§§ 92-3), became *wu-* (§§ 84-6), or from *u*, *o/a*-umlaut (§§ 92-3), became *wu-* (rarely *wo-*) in late WS., and *wo-* in late Nth., but remained in Mercian and Ken., as late WS. *swurd* (later *swyrd*), sword; *swuster* (later *swyster*), sister; *swutol*, plain, clear; *wurpan* beside *worpan*, to throw; *wurp*, worth, price; *wurpan*, to become; but *worc*, work; *woruld*, *worold*, world. Late Nth. *sword*; *worþ*, worth; *worþa*, to become; *worold*, world; *wosa* from older *weosa* = WS. *wesan*, to be.

§ 95. Final *e* was lengthened to *ē* in monosyllables, as *hē*, he; *mē*, me; *sē* (masc. nom. sing.), the; *wē*, we; *þē*, relative particle (§ 468).

i

§ 96. Germanic i (= Goth. O.Icel. OS. OHG. *i*) generally remained in OE., as *biddan*, Goth. *bidjan*, O.Icel. *biðja*, OS. *biddian*, OHG. *bitten*, to pray, beg, entreat; *fisc*, Goth. *fisks*, O.Icel. *fiskr*, OS. *fisk*, OHG. *fisc*, fish; *witan*, Goth. OS. *witan*, O.Icel. *vita*, OHG. *wizzan*, to know; and similarly *bit(t)er*, bitter; *blind*, blind; *bridd*, young bird; *bringan*, to bring; *cild*, child; *cinn*, chin; *clif*, cliff; *cribb*, crib; *cwide*, saying; *disc*, dish; *finger*, finger;

gefilde (sb.), *plain*; gift, *price of wife*; hider, *hither*; hild, *battle, war*; hind (sb.), *hind*; hlid, *lid*; hring, *ring*; licgan, *to lie down*; libban, *to live*; lifer, *liver*; lim, *limb*; list, *cunning*; midd, *middle*; nift, *niece*; niþer, *downwards*; pic, *pitch*; ribb, *rib*; scilling, *shilling*; scip, *ship*; sibb, *relationship*; sife, *sieve*; sige, *victory*; sittan, *to sit*; smip, *smith*; spinel, *spindle*; twig, *twig*; picce, *thick*; pider, *thither*; ping, *thing*; þrida, *third*; wilde, *wild*; wind, *wind*; winter, *winter*; in the second and third pers. sing. pres. indicative of strong verbs belonging to classes III, IV, and V, as hilpest, hilpeþ, birest, bireþ, itest, iteþ, beside inf. helpan, *to help*; beran, *to bear*; etan, *to eat*; in the pret. plural and pp. of strong verbs belonging to class I, as biton, biten, ridon, riden, stigon, stigen, beside inf. bītan, *to bite*; rīdan, *to ride*; stīgaſ, *to ascend*; in the inf. and present of strong verbs belonging to class III, as bindan, *to bind*; drincan, *to drink*; findan, *to find*; sincan, *to sink*; singan, *to sing*; spinnan, *to spin*; swimman, *to swim*.

NOTE.—1. *i* became *ī* by loss of *g*, as brīdel, *bridle*; frīnan, *to ask*; līþ, *he lies down*; rīnan, *to rain*; sīþe, *scythe*; tīle (Lat. tēgula), *tile*, beside brigdel, frignan, ligēþ, sigþe, tigele.

2. *i* appears as *e* in the Latin loanwords, peru (Lat. pirum), *pear*; segn (Lat. signum), *sign*.

§ 97. *i* became *ī* by loss of nasal before a voiceless spirant, as fif, Goth. OHG. fimf, *five*; fifel, *sea-monster*; gesīþ (OHG. gisindo), *companion*; hrīþer (OHG. rind), *ox*; līþe (OHG. lindi), *gentle*; sīþ (Goth. sinþs), *way*; swīþ (Goth. swinþs), *strong*. But *in* remained when it came to stand before a voiceless spirant at a later period, as pinsian from Lat. pensāre, *to weigh, consider*; winster beside winester (OHG. winister), *left (hand)*.

§ 98. *i* was broken to *io* before *r* and *h* + consonant, and simple *h*, but already in early WS. the *io* became *eo* and thus fell together with the *eo* from *e* (§§ 85-6), as liornian, leornian from *lirnōjan, *to learn*; miox, meox from

**mihst*, *manure*, cp. Goth. *maihstus*, *dunghill*; *tiohhian*, *teohhian* from **tihhōjan*, *to arrange, think, consider*; *twiōgan*, *twēogan* from **twiχōjan* (§ 139), *to doubt*.

NOTE.—I. *eo* then became *ie*, later *i*, in WS. before *h* + consonant, as *stihtan*, *to arrange, regulate*; *wriexl*, *wrixl*, *exchange*.

2. In Anglian *io* became *i* before gutturals, as *getihhian*, *to arrange, think, consider*.

3. In the two verbs corresponding to Goth. *brinnan*, *to burn*; and *rinnan*, *to run*, the metathesis of the *r* took place earlier than breaking, whence Anglian *biorna(n)*, *beorna(n)*, *iorna(n)*, *eorna(n)*. In WS. we have *biernan* (later *birnan*, *byrnan*), *iernan* (later *irnan*, *yrnan*) for **biornan*, **beornan*, **iornan*, **eornan*, with *ie* from the third pers. singular *biern(e)þ* (= Goth. *brinnip*), *iern(e)þ* (= Goth. *rinnip*). The new formation in WS. was doubtless due to the fact that the two verbs were mostly used impersonally, cp. the similar new formations in NHG. *ziemen*, *to besee*; and *wiegen*, *to weigh*.

§ 99. *io* became *ie* (later *i*, *y*) by *i*-umlaut in WS., as *āfirran* (OHG. *arfirren*), from **firrjan*, *to remove*; *bierce*, *birch*; *fiehist* (OHG. *fihtis*), *thou fightest*; *fieht*, *he fights*; *gebierhtan*, *to make bright*; *gesiehþ*, *vision*; *giernan* (OS. *girnian*), *to desire*; *hierde* (OHG. *hirti*), *shepherd*; *ierre* (OS. OHG. *irri*), *angry*; *rihtan*, *ryhtan* (OS. *rihtian*), *to set straight*; *siehist* (OHG. *sihis*), *thou seest*; *siehþ* (OHG. *sihit*), *he sees*; *smierwan* (OHG. *smirwen*), *to anoint*; *wierresta*, *wiersta* (OHG. *wir-sisto*), *worst*; *wiersa* (OHG. *wirsiro*), *worse*; *wierþe* (OHG. *wirdi*), *worthy*.

NOTE.—I. The *i*-umlaut of *io* generally did not take place in the non-WS. dialects, hence we have *io* in Nth. and Ken., and *io* (*eo*) in Mercian, as Nth. Ken. *giorna(n)*, *hiorde*, *iorre* = Mercian *geornan*, *heorde*, *iorre*, WS. *giernan*, *hierde*, *ierre*. Forms like *afirra(n)*, *to remove*; *smirwan*, *to smear*, are not pure Anglian forms.

2. *io* became *i* in Anglian before a following guttural or *r* + guttural, as *birce*, *gebirhta(n)*, *gesiehþ*; *mixen* (mod. northern

dialects *mixen*), *dunghill*; *rihtan*; *wircan* (OS. *wirkian*), *to work*. The *i* then became *ī* by loss of intervocalic *h* and contraction in Nth., as *sīs(t)* from **sihis*, WS. *siehist*, *thou seest*; *sīþ* from **sihþ*, WS. *siehþ*, *he sees*.

3. *io* in the combination *wio* became *u* at an early period in Anglian, and then *u* became *y* by *i*-umlaut, as *wyrresta*, *worst*; *wyrsa*, *worse*; *wyrsian*, *to worsen*; *wyrþe*, *worthy*.

§ 100. *i* became *io* by *u*-, *o/a*-umlaut in Ken. before all single consonants, in Anglian before all single consonants except gutturals (*c*, *g*), and in WS. before single labials and liquids. But already at an early period (ninth century) the *io* became *eo* in WS. and Mercian.

§ 101. 1. *u*-umlaut.

Pret. *cliopude*, -ode, beside inf. *clipian*, *to call*; *cliopung*, *calling*; *mioluc*, *miolc* (later *milc*), *milk*; *sioluc*, *silk*; *sioluf*, *siolfor*, *silver*; pret. *tiolude*, -ode, beside inf. *tilian*, *to aim at*; *tiolung*, *produce, labour*. Anglian and Ken. *liomu*, *leomu*, *limbs*; *niopor* (WS. *niþor*), *lower*; *siodu* (WS. *sidu*), *custom*; *sicnu* (WS. *sinu*), *sinew*. Ken. *siocol*, *sickle*; *stiogol*, *stile* = WS. and Anglian *sicol*, *stigol*. Forms like *liomu*, *niopor*, which are occasionally found in WS. prose, are not pure WS.

NOTE.—1. *u*-umlaut was mostly obliterated in WS. by levelling and new formations, as plural *clifu*, *cliffs*; *scipu*, *ships* (Anglian *cliofu*, *sciopu*), due to levelling out the stem-forms of those cases which had no *u* in the ending. Pret. plural *drifun*, -on, *they drove*; *gripun*, -on, *they seized*, due to preterites like *biton*, *they bit*; *stigon*, *they ascended*. Pret. *tilode* beside *tiolode*, *he aimed at*, formed direct from the inf. *tilian*. And conversely forms like inf. *clipian* (*cleopian*), *tiolian* (*teolian*), were formed from the pret. *cliopode*, *tiolode*.

2. *io* became *i* in Anglian before 1+guttural, as *milc* from *miolc*, older *mioluc*, *milk*.

§ 102. 2. *o/a*-umlaut.

hiora, *heora*, *their, of them*; *liofast*, *thou livest*. Anglian and Ken. *behionan*, *on this side of*; *glioda*, *kite, vulture*;

daughter; *folc*, O.Icel. OS. OHG. *folk*, *folk*; *hord*, Goth. *huzd*, OS. *hord*, OHG. *hort*, *treasure*; *oxa*, Goth. *aúhsa*, O.Icel. *oxe*, OHG. *ohso*, *ox*; and similarly *boda*, *messenger*; *bodig*, *body*; *boga*, *bow*; *bohte*, *he bought*; *bold*, *house*; *bolt*, *bolt*; *bord*, *board*; *botm*, *bottom*; *broþ*, *broth*; *cnotta*, *knot*; *cocc*, *cock*; *col*, *coal*; *colt*, *colt*; *corn*, *corn*; *coss*, *kiss*; *dogga*, *dog*; *dor* (OS. *dor*, OHG. *tor*), *door*, *gate*; *dropa*, *drop*; *fola*, *foal*; *folgian*, *to follow*; *forst*, *frost*; *fox*, *fox*; *frogga*, *frog*; *god*, *God*; *gold*, *gold*; *hlot*, *lot*; *hof*, *enclosure*; *hol*, *hole*; *hold*, *loyal*, *gracious*; *hopian*, *to hope*; *horn*, *horn*; *hors*, *horse*; *loc*, *lock*; *lof*, *praise*; *molde*, *earth*; *morgen*, *morning*; *morþ*, *murder*; *norþ*, *north*; *nosu*, *nose*; *ofen*, *oven*; *ofer*, *over*; *open*, *open*; *smocc*, *smock*; *storm*, *storm*; *toll*, *toll*; *þorn*, *thorn*; *þorp*, *village*; *word*, *word*; *worhte*, *he worked*; in the pp. of strong verbs belonging to classes II (§ 493), III (§ 499), and IV (§ 503), as *boden*, Goth. *budans*, O.Icel. *boðenn*, OS. *gibodan*, OHG. *gibotan*, *offered*, *commanded*; and similarly *coren*, *chosen*; *froren*, *frozen*; *soden*, *cooked*, *sodden*; *togen*, *drawn*; *fohten*, *fought*; *holpen*, *helped*; *worden*, *become*; *worpen*, *thrown*; *boren*, *borne*; *brocen*, *broken*; *stolen*, *stolen*; *toren*, *torn*.

NOTE.—*o* became *ō* by loss of consonant, as gen. *hōles* beside nom. *holh*, *hole*; *brōden* beside *brogden*, *brandished*, *woven*.

§ 107. *o* became *e* (older *œ*) by i-umlaut. All native words containing this umlaut are really new formations due to levelling or analogy, because prim. Germanic *u* (cp. § 43) did not become *o* in OE. when followed by an *i* or *j* in the next syllable. Examples are: dat. sing. *dehter*, *to a daughter*, from **dohtri* with *o* levelled out from the other cases, the regular form would be **dyhter* from older **duhtri*; *efes* (OHG. *obasa*) beside *yfes*, *eaves*, cp. Goth. *ubizwa*, *porch*; pl. nom. acc. *exen*, beside nom.

sing. *oxa*, *ox*; *mergen* (Goth. *maúrgins*), beside *morgen*, *morning*; *ele* (Lat. *oleum*), *oil*.

§ 108. In a certain number of words *o* became *u* in OE., especially before and after labials, as *bucc* (OHG. *boc*), *buck*; *bucca*, *he-goat*; *fugol* (OHG. *fogal*), *bird*, *fowl*; *full* (OHG. *fol*), *full*; *furþor*, *further*; *furþum*, *even*; *lufian*, *to love*; *lufu*, *love*; *murcnian*, *to murmur*, *grumble*; *murnan*, *to mourn*; *spura* beside *spora*, *spur*; *spurnan* beside *spornan*, *to kick*; *ufan* (OHG. *obana*, *from above*), *above*; *ufer(r)a*, *upper*, *higher*; *ufor*, *higher*; *wulf* (OHG. *wolf*), *wolf*; *wulle* (OHG. *wolla*), *wool*; *cnucian* beside *cnocian*, *to knock*; *scurf*, *scurf*; *turf*, *turf*.

§ 109. *o* became *u* in OE. before nasals, as *pp. cumen* (OHG. *quoman*), *come*; *guma* (OHG. *gomo*), *man*; *hunig* (OHG. *honag*), *honey*; and similarly *numen*, *taken*; *scunian*, *to shun*; *sumor*, *summer*; *þunor*, *thunder*; *wunian*, *to dwell*. Also in early Latin loanwords, as *munuc* (Lat. *monachus*), *monk*; *munt* (Lat. acc. *montem*), *mountain*; *nunne* (Lat. *nonna*), *nun*; *pund* (Lat. *pondo*), *pound*.

This *u* became *y* by i-umlaut, as *mynster* (Lat. *monasterium*), *minster*, *monastery*; *mynet* (Lat. *monēta*), *coin*, *money*.

§ 110. *o* may have become the rising diphthong *ió* (*eó*) after *g* = Germanic *j* (§ 263), and also occasionally after *sc*, as *gioc* (*geoc*), OHG. *jch*, *yoke*; *geon*, *yon*, *that*; *sceofl*, *shovel*; *sceolde*, *should*; *sceop*, *poet*, *singer*; *sceort*, *short*; *sceoten* (pp.), *shot*, beside *sceofl*, *scolde*, *scop*, *scort*, *scoten*. But see § 51, Note.

NOTE.—The *e* in the combination *sceo* probably merely indicated the palatal pronunciation of the *sc*.

§ 111. Germanic *u* (§ 21) generally remained in OE. as also in the other Germanic languages, as *dumb*, Goth.

dumbs, O.Icel. *dumbr*, OS. *dumb*, OHG. *tumb*, *dumb*; *hund*, Goth. *hunds*, O.Icel. *hundr*, OS. *hund*, OHG. *hunt*, *dog*, *hound*; and similarly *burg*, *city*; *duru*, *door*; *grund*, *ground*; *hnutu*, *nut*; *hund*, *hundred*; *hungor*, *hunger*; *lust*, *desire*; *sugu*, *sow*; *sulh*, *plough*; *sunne*, *sun*; *sunu*, *son*; *tunge*, *tongue*; *tungol*, *star*; *þurst*, *thirst*; *under*, *under*; *wund*, *wound*; *wundor*, *wonder*; in the pret. plural of strong verbs belonging to classes II (§ 493) and III (§ 497), as *budon*, Goth. *budum*, O.Icel. *buðum*, OS. *budun*, OHG. *butum*, *we offered, commanded*; and similarly *curon*, *chose*; *flugon*, *flew*; *gruton*, *wept*; *tugon*, *drew*; *bundon*, Goth. O.Icel. *bundum*, OS. *bundun*, OHG. *buntum*, *we bound*; and similarly *druncon*, *drank*; *dulfon*, *dug*; *fundon*, *found*; *fuhton*, *fought*; *hulpon*, *helped*; *spunnon*, *spun*; *suncon*, *sank*; *sungon*, *sung*; *wurdon*, *became*; *wurpon*, *threw*; in the pp. of strong verbs belonging to class III, as *bunden*, *bound*; *druncen*, *drunk*; *funden*, *found*; *spunnen*, *spun*; *suncen*, *sunk*; *sungen*, *sung*.

NOTE.—*u* became *o* in the prefix *or-* (= Goth. *us-*, OHG. *ur-*, *out*), as *orsorg*, *without anxiety*; *orþanc*, *skill*; *orwēne*, *despairing*. And in the Latin loanwords *box* (Lat. *buxus*), *boxtree*; *copor* (Lat. *cuprum*), *copper*.

§ 112. *u* became *y* by *i-umlaut*, as *cyning*, OS. OHG. *kuning*, *king*; *cynn*, Goth. *kuni*, OS. OHG. *kunni*, *race, generation*; *þyncan*, Goth. *pugkjan*, OS. *thunkian*, *to seem*; and similarly *blyscan*, *to blush*; *bryce*, *brittle*; *brycg*, *bridge*; *bycgan* (Goth. *bugjan*), *to buy*; *byrd*, *birth*; *clyppan*, *to embrace*; *cnyttan*, *to bind*; *crycc*, *crutch*; *cyme*, *advent*; *cyre*, *choice*; *cyrnel*, *kernel*; *cyssan*, *to kiss*; *cyst*, *choice*; *drync*, *potion*; *dyppan*, *to dip*; *dysig*, *foolish*; *flyht*, *flight*; *fyllan*, *to fill*; *fyrhtan*, *to fear*; *fyxen*, *vixen*; *gemynd*, *remembrance*; *gesynto*, *health*; *gyden* (OHG. *gutin*), *goddess*; *gylden* (OHG. *guldin*), *golden*; *hrycg*, *back, ridge*; *hycgan* (Goth. *hug-*

jan), to think; hyge, thought; hyldo, grace, favour; hyll, hill; hyngnan, to hunger; hype, hip; hyrdel, hurdle; hyrnen, of horn; lyge, falsehood; mycel, much; mycg, midge; myrþran, to murder; nytt, use; scyld, guilt; scyldig, guilty; scyrtra, shorter; stycce, piece; synn, sin; trymman, to make strong; þynne, thin; þyrstan, to thirst; yfel, evil; ymb(e), about; yppan, to open; wyllen (OHG. wullin), woollen; wynn, joy; wyrcan, to work; wyrhta (OS. wurhtio), workman; wyrm from *wurmiz, snake, dragon, worm; wyrt, herb.

Also in early Latin loanwords, as cycene (late Lat. coquina, cucina), kitchen; cylen (Lat. culina), kiln; mylen (Lat. molina), mill; pyle (Lat. acc. pulvinum), pillow; pytt (Lat. acc. puteum), pit.

NOTE.—1. y became e in Ken. in the ninth century, as besig, efel, gelden, senn = WS. bysig, busy, yfel, gylden, synn.

2. y was often unrounded to i in late WS. and Anglian, especially before and after c, g, h, as cinn, cining, fiht, hricg, hige, scildig, pincan, &c.

§ 113. u became ū by loss of n before s and þ, as cūþ (Goth. kunþs), known, familiar; cūþe (Goth. kunþa), he could; dūst (OHG. tunst, storm), dust; fūs (OHG. funs), ready, eager for; gūþ (OHG. gundia), war, battle; hūs1 (Goth. hunsl), Eucharist; mūþ (Goth. munþs), mouth; ūs (Goth. OHG. uns), us; tūsc from *tunsk, tusk; sūþ (OHG. sund), south.

§ 114. ū became ȳ by i-umlaut, as cȳþan (Goth. gaswi-kunþjan), to make known; dȳstig (OHG. tunstig, stormy), dusty; fȳsan from *funsjan, to send forth, hasten; wȳscan from *wunskjan, OHG. wunsken, to wish; ȳst (OHG. unst), storm, tempest; ȳþ (OHG. undea), prim. Germanic *unþjō, wave.

§ 115. u became ū by loss of h after l, r, before a following vowel, as gen. sing. fūre, pl. gen. fūra, dat. fūrum, beside

nom. sing. *furh*, *furrow*; pl. gen. *sūla*, dat. *sūlum*, beside
nom. sing. *sulh*, *plough*.

§ 116. *u* may have become the rising diphthong *iú*, later *ió* (*eó*), after *g* = Germanic *j* (§ 268), and also occasionally after *sc*, as *giung*, *giong*, *geong*, older *iung* (*gung*) = Goth. *juggs*, OHG. *jung*, *young*; *giogup*, *geogup*, older *iugup* (*gugup*), *youth*; inf. *sceolan*, *shall*; pl. indicative *sceolon*, beside *sculan*, *sculon*. The *i*-umlaut of which was *ie* (later *i*, *y*), as *giengra* (OHG. *jungiro*), *gingra*, *gyngra*, *younger*; *giengesta* (OHG. *jungisto*), *gingesta*, *gyngesta*, *youngest*. But see § 51, Note.

NOTE.—The *e* in the combination *sceo* probably merely indicated the palatal pronunciation of the *sc*.

B. THE LONG VOWELS OF ACCENTED SYLLABLES.

ā

§ 117. Germanic nasalized *ā*, which arose from *a* according to § 40, became *ō* in OE., as *brōhte*, Goth. OS. OHG. *brāhta*, *I brought*; *fōn* from **fōhan*, Goth. OS. OHG. *fāhan*, *to grasp, seize*; and similarly *hōh*, *heel*; *hōn*, *to hang*; *ōht*, *persecution*; *tōh*, *tough*; *þō* (Goth. *þāhō*), *clay*; *þōhte*, *I thought*; *wōh*, *crooked, wry*.

§ 118. *ō* became *ē* by *i*-umlaut, as *ēhtan* (OS. *āhtian*), *to persecute*; *fēhþ* (OS. *fāhid*), *he seizes*; *hēla* from older **hōhila*, *heel*.

æ

§ 119. Germanic *æ* (Goth. *ē*, OS. OHG. *ā*) generally remained in WS., but became *ē* in Anglian and Ken., as WS. *dæd*, non-WS. *dēd*, Goth. *ga-dēps*, OS. *dād*, OHG. *tāt*, *deed*; WS. *sæd*, non-WS. *sēd*, OS. *sād*, OHG. *sāt*, *seed*; WS. *rædan*, non-WS. *rēdan*, OS. *rādan*, OHG. *rātan*, *to advise*; and similarly *bær*, *bier*; *blædre*, *bladder*; *blætan*, *to bleat*; *brær*, *briar*; *æfen*, *evening*; *æel*, *eel*; *æs*,

carrion; *æþm*, *breath*; *hær*, *hair*; *læce*, *physician*; *lætan*, *to leave*; *mæg*, *kinsman*; *mæl*, *meal-time*; Anglian *mēce* (OS. *māki*), *sword*; *mære*, *renowned*; *nædl*, *needle*; *nædre*, *snake*; *ræd*, *advice*; *swæs*, *pleasant*; *pær*, *there*; *wæg*, *wave*; *wæpen*, *weapon*; in the pret. plural of strong verbs belonging to classes IV (§ 503) and V (§ 505), as *bæron*, *bore*; *cwædon*, *said*; *æton*, *ate*; *stælon*, *stole*; *sæton*, *sat*.

NOTE.—1. It is difficult to account for the *ā* beside *æ* in a few words, such as *læcnian*, *to cure*; *slāpan*, *to sleep*; *swār*, *heavy*; *tāl*, *blame*; *wāt*, *wet*, beside *læcnian*, *slāpan*, *swær*, *tāl*, *wæt*. In forms like *wæg* beside *wæg*, *wave*, the *ā* is due to the stem-form of the plural, see § 120 (2).

2. The *ē* from older *æ* was often rounded to *œ* after *w* in Nth., as *huœr*, *where*; *wœpen*, *weapon*; *wœron*, *they were* = WS. *hwær*, *wæpen*, *wæron*.

3. The *ā* in early Latin loanwords had the same development in OE. as Germanic *æ*, as *næp* (Lat. *nāpus*), *turnip*; *stræt* (Lat. *strāta*), *street*.

§ 120. Germanic *æ* became *ā* in OE. (1) before *w*, as *blāwan* (OHG. *blāen*), *to blow*; *cnāwan* (OHG. *knāen*), *to know*; *crāwan* (OHG. *krāen*), *to crow*; *māwan* (OHG. *māen*), *to mow*; *sāwan* (OHG. *sāen*), *to sow*; *sāwon* (OS. *sāwun*), *they saw*; *tāwian*, *to prepare*; *prāwan*, *to twist*; *wāwan* (OHG. *wāen*), *to blow*.

This *ā* became *æ* by i-umlaut, as *læwan* from **lāwjan*, older **læwjan* = Goth. *lēwjan*, *to betray*.

(2) In the combination *æg* followed by a guttural vowel in the next syllable, as plural nom. *māgas*, gen. *māga*, dat. *māgum*, beside nom. singular *mæg*, *kinsman*; pret. plural *lāgon*, *lay*; *pāgon*, *received*; *wāgon*, *carried* (§§ 505, 507).

NOTE.—Forms like *māgas*; *wāgas*, *waves*, were new formations from the singular *mæg*, *wæg*. And *lāgon*, *pāgon*, *wāgon* were due to the analogy of such preterites as *bæron*, *stælon* which regularly have *æ*.

§ 121. *ǣ* became *ō* before nasals, as *mōna*, Goth. *mēna*, OS. OHG. *māno*, *moon*; *nōmon*, Goth. *nēmum*, OS. OHG. *nāmun*, *they took*; and similarly *brōm*, *broom*; *c(w)ōmon*, *they came*; *gedōn*, *done*; *mōnaþ*, *month*; *ōm*, *rust*; *sōna*, *soon*; *spōn*, *chip*; *wōma*, *tumult*.

NOTE.—The *ō* may have become the rising diphthong *eo* after *g* = Germanic *j* (§ 268), as *geōmor* (OS. OHG. *jāmar*), *sad*; *geōmrian*, *to mourn*. But see § 51, Note.

§ 122. *ō* became *ē* (older *ǣ*) by i-umlaut, as *wēnan* from **wōnjan* = Goth. *wēnjan*, OS. *wānian*, OHG. *wānen*, *to hope*; and similarly *brēmel*, *bramble*; *cwēman*, *to please*; *cwēn*, *queen*; *gecwēme*, *agreeable*; *wēn*, *hope*.

§ 123. In WS. *ǣ* was broken to *ēa* before *h*, as *nēah*, Goth. *nēhr*, OS. OHG. *nāh*, *near*; *nēar* from **nēahur*, older **nāehur*, *nearer*. By i-umlaut *ēa* became *īe* (later *ī*, *ȳ*), as *nīehsta* from **nēahista*, but Anglian *nēsta* from **nēhista* (OHG. *nāhisto*), *nearest*.

§ 124. In WS. it became *ēa* (older *eā*) through the intermediate stage *eǣ* after palatal *c*, *g*, and *sc*, as *gēar*, Goth. *jēr*, OS. OHG. *jār*, *year*; and similarly *cēace*, *jaw*; *for-gēaton*, *they forgot*; *gēa*, *yes*; *gēafon*, *they gave*; *scēap*, *sheep*; *scēaron*, *they sheared*. *ēa* became *īe* by i-umlaut, as *cīese* from **cēasi* (Lat. *cāseus*), *cheese*.

NOTE.—The *ē* (§ 119), which arose from *ǣ*, remained uninfluenced by palatals in the non-WS. dialects, as *gēr*, *gēfon*, *scēp* = WS. *gēar*, *gēafon*, *scēap*. This *ēa* also became *ē* in late WS.

ē

§ 125. Germanic *ē*, which cannot be traced back phonologically to Indo-Germanic *ē* (§ 38, Note), is of obscure origin. In Gothic the two sounds fell together in *ē*, but in the other Germanic languages they were kept quite apart, thus Indg. *ē* = OE. *ǣ* (§ 119), Goth. *ē*, O.Icel. OS. OHG. *ā*, but Germanic *ē* = OE. Goth. O.Icel. OS. *ē*, OHG. *ia* (*ie*).

Germanic *ē* remained in OE., as *cēn* (OHG. *kian*),

torch; OE. *Goþ.* O.Icel. OS. *hēr*, OHG. *hiar*, *here*; OE. *mēd*, OS. *nēda*, OHG. *miata*, *pay, reward*; in the preterite of the oldreduplicated verbs (§§ 512-14), as OE. OS. *hēt*, OHG. *hāz*, inf. OE. *hātan*, *to call*; and similarly preterite *fēng*, *rēd*, *slēp*, beside inf. *fōn*, *to seize*; *rādan*, *to advise*; *slēpan*, *to sleep*.

NOTE.—Latin *ē* became *ī* in early loanwords, as *cīpe*, Lat. *cēpa*, *onion*; *pīn* (OHG. *pīna*), Lat. *pōna*, late Lat. *pēna*, *torture*; *sīde* (OHG. *sīda*), late Lat. *sēta*, *silk*; but *ē* remained in later loanwords, as *bēte*, Lat. *bēta*, *beetroot*; *crēda*, *creed*, Lat. *crēdō*, *I believe*.

ī

§ 126. Germanic ī generally remained in OE., as also in the oldest periods of the other Germanic languages, as OE. OS. OHG. *sīn*, Goth. *seins*, *his*; OE. OS. OHG. *swīn*, Goth. *swein*, O.Icel. *svīn*, *pig, swine*; and similarly *blīpe*, *blithe*; *hwīl*, *space of time*; *hwīt*, *white*; *īdel*, *empty*; *īfig*, *ivy*; *īs*, *ice*; *isen*, *īren*, *iron*; *līf*, *life*; *mīn*, *mine*; *rice*, *kingdom*; *rīm*, *number*; *sīde*, *side*; *slīm*, *slime*; *tīd*, *time*; *pīn*, *thine*; *wīd*, *wide*; *wīf*, *wife*; *wīs*, *wise*; in the present of strong verbs belonging to class I (§ 490), as OE. OS. *bītan*, Goth. *beitan*, O.Icel. *bīta*, OHG. *bīzan*, *to bite*; and similarly *bīdan*, *to remain*; *drīfan*, *to drive*; *glīdan*, *to glide*; *grīpan*, *to seize*; *līpan*, *to go*; *rīdan*, *to ride*; *scīnan*, *to shine*; *slīdan*, *to slide*; *smītan*, *to smite*; *snīpan*, *to cut*; *stīgan*, *to ascend*; *strīdan*, *to stride*; *wrītan*, *to write*.

§ 127. ī was broken to īo before h and ht in WS. But already at an early period the *īo* mostly became *ēo* (= Anglian *ī*), as *betwēoh*, *between*, cp. Goth. *tweihnái*, *two each*; *lēoht*, Goth. *leihts*, OHG. *lihti*, adj. *light*; *wēoh* (Anglian *wīh*), *idol*, Goth. *weihs*, OHG. *wīh*, *holy*, OS. *wīh*, *temple*; imperative singular *lēoh* (Anglian *līh*), Goth. *leiht*, OS. OHG. *līh*, *lend thou*; and similarly *tēoh*,

accuse; *pēoh*, *thrive*; *wrēoh*, *cover*. With loss of medial *h* after breaking had taken place, as *betwēonun*, *between*; *fēol* (Anglian *fil*, OHG. *fihala*), *file*; infinitives *lōn*, *lēon* (Goth. *leiþvan*, OS. OHG. *lihan*), *to lend*; and similarly *sīon*, *sēon*, *to strain*; *pīon*, *pēon*, *to thrive*; *wrīon*, *wrēon*, *to cover*.

The *i*-umlaut of this *īo* (*ēo*) is *īe*, as *liehtan* from **liōhtjan*, *to lighten, make easier*, Anglian *gelīhtan*; *liehst* from **liohis* (OHG. *lihis*), *thou lendest*; *liehþ* from **liohiþ* (OHG. *lihit*), *he lends*.

ō

§ 128. Germanic ō (= Goth. O.Icel. OS. *ō*, OHG. *uo*) generally remained in OE., as *brōþor*, Goth. *brōþar*, O.Icel. *bróðer*, OS. *brōder*, OHG. *bruoder*, *brother*; OE. OS. *fōt*, Goth. *fōtus*, O.Icel. *fōtr*, OHG. *fuoʒ*, *foot*; and similarly *blōd*, *blood*; *blōwan*, *to bloom*; *bōc*, *book*; *bōsm*, *bosom*; *brōc*, *brook*; *brōd*, *brood*; *cōl*, *cool*; *dōm*, *judgment, doom*; *dōn*, *to do*; *fīōd*, *flood*; *fīōwan*, *to flow*; *fōda*, *food*; *genōg*, *enough*; *glōf*, *glove*; *glōm*, *gloom*; *glōwan*, *to glow*; *gōd*, *good*; *grōwan*, *to grow*; *hōc*, *hook*; *hōd*, *hood*; *hōf*, *hoof*; *hrōc*, *rook*; *hrōf*, *roof*; *hrōpan*, *to shout*; *mōd*, *mood, mind*; *mōdor*, *mother*; *rōwan*, *to row*; *sōhte*, *he sought*; *sōt*, *soot*; *stōl*, *stool*; in the preterite of strong verbs belonging to class VI (§ 508), as OE. Goth. O.Icel. OS. *fōr*, OHG. *fuor*, *he went, travelled*; and similarly *bōc*, *baked*; *hōf*, *raised*; *slōg*, *struck, slew*; *swōr*, *swore*.

NOTE.—The combination *scō* was often written *sceō* with *e* to denote the palatal pronunciation of the *sc*-, as preterite *sceōc*, *shook*; *sceōp*, *created*, beside *scōc*, *scōp*; *sceōh* beside *stōh*, *shoe*.

§ 129. ō became ē (older *ǣ*, preserved in Nth.) by *i*-umlaut, as *fēt*, OS. *fōti*, OHG. *fuoʒi*, from **fōtiz*, older **fōtez*, *feet*; *sēcan*, Goth. *sōkjan*, OS. *sōkian*, *to seek*; and similarly *bēc*, *books*; *bētan*, *to improve*; *blēdan*, *to*

2. The *cc*er, dat. sing. of *brōþor*, brother; *cēlan*, to cool; denote the judge; *drēfan*, to make turbid; *fēdan*, to feed; pret. sing. *eel*; *glēd*, live coal; *grēne*, green; *grētan*, to greet; Note. to heed; *mēder*, dat. sing. of *mōdor*, mother; *mētan*,

§ 13. *st*; *spēd*, success; *swēte*, sweet; *wēpan*, to weep.

§ 130. Final *wō* became *ū* in monosyllables, as *cū*, OS. *kō*, OHG. *kuo*, cow, from an original acc. form **gōm* (cp. Gr. Dor. βῶν) = prim. Germanic **kwōn*, older **kwōm*; *hū* (OS. *hwō*), *how*; *tū* (neut.) from **twō*, two. The neuter *bū* for older **bō*, both, is due to association with *tū* in the combination *bū tū*, both, literally both two.

ū became *ȳ* by i-umlaut, as *cȳ* from older **kū-i*, prim. Germanic **kwō-iz*, cows.

ū

§ 131. Germanic *ū* generally remained in OE., as also in the oldest periods of the other Germanic languages, as OE. O.Icel. OS. OHG. *hūs*, house, cp. Goth. *gud-hūs*, temple; OE. O.Icel. OS. OHG. *rūm*, Goth. *rūms*, room; *pūhte*, Goth. *pūhta*, OS. *thūhta*, OHG. *dūhta*, it seemed, inf. OE. *pyncan*, to seem; and similarly *brū*, eyebrow; *brūcan*, to enjoy; *brūn*, brown; *būan*, to dwell; *būgan*, to bow down; *clūd*, rock; *clūt*, clout; *fūl*, foul; *hlūd*, loud; *hlūtor*, clear, pure; *lūcan*, to close; *lūs*, louse; *mūs*, mouse; *nū*, now; *prūt*, proud; *rūst*, rust; *scrūd*, garment; *scūfan*, to push; *slūpan*, to glide; *sūcan*, to suck; *scūr*, shower; *sūpan*, to sup, drink; *sūr*, sour; *tūn*, enclosure; *trūwian* (pret. *trūde*), to trust; *ūder*, udder; *ūhte*, early dawn; *ūt*, out; *pūma*, thumb; *pūsend*, thousand.

§ 132. *ū* became *ȳ* by i-umlaut, as *brȳd*, from prim. Germanic **brūdiz*, bride; *mȳs*, from prim. Germanic **mūsiz*, mice; *rȳman*, Goth. **rūmjān*, OS. *rūmian*, to make room; and similarly *fȳr*, fire; *fȳst*, fist; *hlȳdan*, to make a sound; *hȳd*, hide; *hȳdan*, to hide, conceal; *hȳf*, hive; *lȳs*, lice; *lȳtel*, little; *ontȳnan*, to open; *scrȳdan*

to dress; þȳmel, *thumbstall*; in the second and of medial sing. pres. indicative of strong verbs which have *between*; infinitive (§ 496), as brȳcst, brȳcþ, from older *n*, lēon *brūkiþ, inf. brūcan, *to enjoy*. y sion,

NOTE.—ȳ became ē in Ken. in the ninth century, as ^{over} hēf, mēs, ontēnan = WS. hȳf, mȳs, ontȳnan.

C. THE DIPHTHONGS OF ACCENTED SYLLABLES.

ai

§ 133. Germanic ai (= Goth. ái, O.Icel. ei, OS. ē, OHG. ei (ē)) became ā in OE., as ān, Goth. áins, O.Icel. einn, OS. ēn, OHG. ein, *one*; hāl, Goth. háils, O.Icel. heill, OS. hēl, OHG. heil, *whole, sound, hale*; hātan, Goth. háitan, O.Icel. heita, OS. hētan, OHG. heizan, *to name, call*; and similarly āc, *oak*; ād, *heap, funeral pile*; āgan, *to possess*; āgen, *own*; ār, *oar*; āscian, *to ask*; ātor, *poison*; āþ, *oath*; bā, *both*; bān, *bone*; bār, *boar*; bāt, *boat*; brād, *broad*; clāþ, *cloth*; dā, *doe*; dāg, *dough*; gāst, *spirit*; gāt, *goat*; grāþian, *to grope*; hād, *rank, order*; hām, *home*; hāt, *hot*; hlāf, *loaf*; hlāford, *lord*; hlāw, *grave, mound*; hrāw, *corpse*; lār, *lore, learning*; māþm, *treasure*; rā (OHG. rēho), *roe*; rād, *raid*; rāþ, *rope*; sāl, *rope*; sār, *sore*; sāwol, *soul*; slā (OHG. slēha), *sloe*; snāw, *snow*; stān, *stone*; swāpan, *to sweep*; tā (OHG. zēha), *toe*; tācen, *token*; twā, *two*; þās, *those*; wā, *woe*; wāt, *he knows*; in the pret. singular of strong verbs belonging to class I (§ 490), as bād, Goth. báip, O.Icel. beið, OS. bād, OHG. beitt, *he awaited*; and similarly bāt, *bit*; lāþ, *went*; drāf, *drove*; lāh, *lent*; rād, *rode*; stāg, *ascended*.

NOTE.—I. It is difficult to account for ō beside ā (Goth. áiw), *ever*; and similarly in the compounds ō-wiht, -wuht, *anything*; nō-wiht, -wuht beside ā-wiht, nā-wiht.

2. The combination *scā* was often written *sceā*, with *e* to denote the palatal pronunciation of *sc*, as *sceādan*, *to divide*; pret. singular *sceān*, *shone*, beside *scādan*, *scān*. See § 51, Note.

§ 134. *ā* became *æ* (late Ken. *ē*) by i-umlaut, as *hæp*, Goth. *háipi*, *heath*; *hælan*, Goth. *háiljan*, OS. *hēlian*, *to heal*; *æ*, *æw* from **āwi*, prim. Germanic **aiwiz*, *divine law*; and similarly *æht*, *possession*; *ænig*, *any*; *ær*, *formerly, before*; *blæcan*, *to bleach*; *brædan*, *to broaden*; *clæne*, *clean*; *dæl*, *part, portion*; *dælan*, *to deal*; *dræfan*, *to drive*; *flæsc*, *flesh*; *gæt*, *goats*; *hætan*, *to heat*; *hlæder*, *ladder*; *hlæw*, *grave, mound*; *hræw*, *corpse*; *hwæte*, *wheat*; *lædan*, *to lead*; *læfan*, *to leave*; *læran*, *to teach*; *læstan*, *to follow*; *mænan*, *to mean*; *ræcan*, *to reach*; *ræran*, *to raise*; *sæ*, *sea*; *sprædan*, *to spread*; *stænen*, *of stone*.

au

§ 135. Germanic *au* (= Goth. *áu*, O.Icel. *au*, OS. *ō*, OHG. *ou* (*ō*)) became *ēa* in OE., as *dēap*, Goth. *dáupus*, O.Icel. *daufē*, OS. *dōd*, OHG. *tōd*, *death*; *ēage*, Goth. *áugō*, O.Icel. *auga*, OS. *ōga*, OHG. *ouga*, *eye*; *rēad*, Goth. *ráups*, O.Icel. *rauðr*, OS. *rōd*, OHG. *rōt*, *red*; and similarly *bēacen*, *beacon*; *bēag*, *ring, bracelet*; *bēan*, *bean*; *brēad*, *bread*; *cēap*, *cheap*; *cēapian*, *to buy*; *dēad*, *dead*; *dēaf*, *deaf*; *drēam*, *joy*; *ēac*, *also*; *ēadig* (Goth. *áudags*), *blessed*; *ēare*, *ear*; *ēast*, *east*; *flēa(h)*, *flea*; *gelēafa*, *belief*; *grēat*, *great*; *hēafod*, *head*; *hēah*, *high*; *hēap*, *troop*; *hlēapan*, *to leap*; *lēac*, *leek*; *lēaf*, *leaf*; *lēad*, *lead*; *lēan*, *reward*; *scēaf*, *sheaf*; *stēap*, *steep*; *strēam*, *stream*; *tēag*, *rope*; in the pret. singular of strong verbs belonging to class II (§ 493), as *cēas*, Goth. *káus*, O.Icel. *kaus*, OS. OHG. *kōs*, *he chose*, inf. OE. *cēosan*, *to choose*; and similarly *bēad*, *offered*; *brēac*, *enjoyed*; *clēaf*, *cleft*; *frēas*, *froze*; *gēat*, *poured out*; *lēag*, *lied*; *scēat*, *shot*; *tēah*, *drew*.

NOTE.—I. *ēa* became *ē* in late WS. before *c*, *g*, *h*, and after

c, g, sc, as *bēcen*, *lēc*, *bēg*, *ēge*, *hēh*, *tēh*; *cēpian*, *cēs*, *gēt*, *scēf*, *scēt*.

2. In Anglian it became *æ* (later *ē*) before c, g, h, as *æc*, *læc*, *flæh*, *hæh*, *tæg*, later *ēc*, *lēc*, *flēh*, *hēh*, *tēg*.

§ 136. *ēa* became *īe* (= non-WS. *ē*) by i-umlaut in the oldest period of WS. *īe* then became *ī*, *ȳ* already in early WS., as *geliefan*, early WS. *gelifan*, *gelyfan*, non-WS. *gelēfan*, Goth. *galáubjan*, OS. *gilōbian*, *to believe*; *hieran*, early WS. *hīran*, *hȳran*, non-WS. *hēran*, Goth. *háusjan*, OS. *hōrian*, *to hear*; *nīed*, early WS. *nīd*, *nȳd*, non-WS. *nēd*, Goth. *náuþs*, prim. Germanic **naudiz*, *need*; and similarly *biecnan*, *to beckon*; *biegan* (Goth. **báugjan*), *to bend*; *cīepan*, *to buy*; *driēman*, *to rejoice*; *driēpan*, *to let drop*; *īecan*, *to increase*; *īeþe*, *easy*; *giēman*, *to take notice of*; *hīehra*, *higher*; *hiehsta* (Goth. *háuhista*), *highest*; *hīenan*, *to humiliate*; *nīedan*, *to compel*; *sciēte*, *sheet*; *slīefe*, *sleeve*; *stīepel*, *steeple*.

eu

§ 137. Germanic eu (= Goth. *iu*, O.Icel. *jō* (*jū*), OS. OHG. *eo* (*io*)) became *ēo* in OE. The *ēo* remained in WS. and Mercian, but was often written *io* in early WS. and Mercian. In Nth. it mostly became *ēa* which fell together with the *ēa* from Germanic *au* (§ 135). In Ken. it became *io* (also written *īa*), and thus fell together with *io* from Germanic *iu* (§ 138). Examples are: *dēop*, Goth. *diups*, O.Icel. *djūpr*, OS. *diop*, OHG. *tiof*, *deep*; WS. and Mercian *lēof*, *liof*, Nth. *lēaf*, Ken. *liof*, Goth. *liufs*, O.Icel. *ljūfr*, OS. *liof*, OHG. *liob*, *dear*; WS. and Mercian *dēor*, *dior*, Nth. *dēar*, Ken. *dior*, *deer*; and similarly *bēod*, *table*; *bēor*, *beer*; *flēos*, *fleece*; *lēoht*, *a light*; *sēoc*, *sick*; *stēor*, *rudder*; *pēod*, *nation*, *race*; *pēof*, *thief*; *pēoh*, *thigh*; in the present of strong verbs belonging to class II (§ 493), as *bēodan*, Goth. *biudan*, O.Icel. *bjōða*, OS. *biodan*,

OHG. *biotan*, to offer; *cēosan*, Goth. *kiusan* (to test), O.Icel. *kjōsa*, OS. OHG. *kiosan*, to choose; and similarly *clēofan*, to cleave; *crēopan*, to creep; *drēosan*, to fall; *flēogan*, to fly; *frēosan*, to freeze; *gēotan*, to pour out; *lēogan*, to lie; *rēocan*, to smoke; *scēotan*, to shoot; *sēoþan*, to boil, cook; *tēon* (Goth. *tiuhan*), to draw, lead.

NOTE.—I. The old diphthong *eu* was occasionally preserved in the oldest monuments, as *steupfaedaer*, later *stēopfæder*, *stepfather*.

2. *ēo* (*ēa*) became *ē* in Anglian before *c*, *g*, *h*, as *rēca(n)*, *sēc*, *flēga(n)*, *lēga(n)*, *lēht* = WS. *rēocan*, *sēoc*, &c.

iu

§ 138. The normal development of Germanic *iu*, which arose from older *eu* when the next syllable contained an *i*, *ī*, or *j* (§ 44), is *īo* in OE. (= Goth. *iu*, O.Icel. *jū* (*ȳ*), OS. OHG. *iu*). In WS. *īo* generally became *īe* (later *ī*, *ȳ*) by *i*-umlaut. But when no umlaut took place, early WS. had *īo* beside *ēo*, and later generally *ēo* only. It is difficult to account for the non-umlauted forms, unless we may suppose that they are not pure WS. Examples are: *cīesþ*, Goth. *kīusīþ*, O.Icel. *kȳs(s)*, OS. *kīusid*, OHG. *kīusit*, *he chooses*, *tests*, inf. OE. *cēosan*; *tīehþ*, Goth. *tiuhiþ*, OS. *tiuhid*, OHG. *ziuhit*, *he draws*, *leads*, inf. OE. *tēon*; *lēhtan*, Goth. *liuhtjan*, OS. *liuhtian*, OHG. *liuhten*, *to give light*. *dīere* beside *dēore*, OS. *diuri*, OHG. *tiuri*, *dear*, *beloved*; *dierling* beside *dēorling*, *darling*; *geþīedan* beside *geþiodan*, *geþōdan*, *to join*, *associate*; *stīeran* (O.Icel. *stȳra*, OHG. *stiuren*) beside *stēoran*, *to steer*; *þīefþ*, *þīestre* (OS. *thiustri*), beside *þēofþ*, *theft*; *þīostre*, *þēostre*, *dark*. *geþīode*, *geþēode*, *language*; *liode*, *lēode* (OS. *liudi*, OHG. *liuti*), *people*; and a few other words.

The *i*-umlaut of *īo* did not take place in the other dialects, so that we have in Nth. and Ken. *īo* (also written *īa* in the latter dialect), and in Mercian *īo* beside *ēo* (later

mostly *ēo*), as Nth. Ken. *dīore*, *līode*, *pīostre*, *stīora(n)*, but in Mercian *īo* beside *ēo*.

NORE.—In Anglian *īo* became *ī* before *c* and *h*, as *cīcen*, older **kīoken* from **kiukīn*, *chicken*; *līhta(n)*, *tīþ* from **tīhiþ* = WS. *liehtan*, *tīehþ*.

VOWEL CONTRACTION.

§ 139. Vowel contraction took place in OE. when intervocalic *h*, *w*, or *j* had disappeared.

A long vowel or a long diphthong absorbed a following short vowel, as *rā* beside older *rāha*, *roe* (§ 133); gen. *sās* from **sāes* older **sāwis* (§ 134) beside nom. *sā*, *sea*; Anglian *nēsta* from **nēhista* beside WS. *nīehsta*, *nearest* (§ 123); Anglian *tīþ* from **tīhiþ*, older **tiuxiþ*, *he draws* (§ 138, Note); *fōn* from **fōhan*, *to seize*, *fō* from **fōhu*, *I seize* (§ 117); pl. *scōs* from **scōhas*, beside sing. *scōh*, *shoe* (§ 128, Note); *sēon* from **sēo(h)an*, *to see*; *sēo* from **sēo(h)u*, *I see*; gen. *fēos* from **fēo(h)es*, beside nom. *feoh*, *cattle* (§ 87); *slēan* from **slēa(h)an*, *to slay*, *slēa* from **slēa(h)u*, *I slay*; *ēar* from **ēa(h)ur*, *ear of corn* (§ 70); *nēar* from **nēa(h)ur*, *nearer* (§ 123); *līon*, *lēon* from **līo(h)an*, older **līhan*, *to lend*, *lēo* from **līo(h)u*, *I lend* (§ 127); *tēon* from **tēo(h)an*, *to draw, lead*; dat. pl. *þrūm* from **þrū(h)um* beside nom. sing. *þrūh*, *trough*.

§ 140. *a + u* (from older *wu* or vocalized *w*) became *ēa*, as *clēa* from **cla(w)u*, *claw*; *strēa* from **straw*, *straw* (§ 75).

e + u (from *w*) became *ēo*, as *cnēo* from **cnewa*-, *knee*, *trēo* from **trewa*-, *tree* (§ 88).

i or *ij* + guttural vowel became *īo* (*ēo*), as *bīo*, *bēo* from **bijōn*-, *bee*; *fīond*, *fēond*, Goth. *fijands*, *enemy*; *frīond*, Goth. *frijōnds*, *friend*; nom. acc. neut. *þrīo*, *þrēo*, from **þri(j)u* = Goth. *þrija*, *three* (§ 104).

§ 141. *i + i* became *ī*, as Nth. *sīs(t)* from **sihis*, *thou seest*; *sīþ* from **sihiþ*, *he sees* (§ 329, 4).

§ 142. Long palatal vowels absorbed a following short palatal vowel, as *gæst* from **gæis* older **gāis*, *thou goest*; *gæp* from **gæip*, *he goes*; *dæst* from **dōis*, *thou doest*; *dēp* from **dōip*, *he does*; gen. *drȳs* from **drȳez*, beside nom. *drȳ*, *magician*.

THE LENGTHENING OF SHORT VOWELS.

§ 143. From our knowledge of M.E. phonology it is clear that short vowels must have been lengthened some time during the OE. period before certain consonant combinations, especially before a liquid or nasal + another voiced consonant. But it is impossible to ascertain the date at which these lengthenings took place, and whether they took place in all the dialects at the same time.

§ 144. Final short vowels were lengthened in monosyllables, as *hwā*, *who*?, *swā*, *so* (§ 79); *hē*, *he*, *mē*, *me*, *wē*, *we* (§ 95).

§ 145. There was a tendency to lengthen short vowels in monosyllables ending in a single consonant, as *wēl* (mod. northern dial. *wīl* from older *wēl*) beside *wel*, *well*. *lōf*, *praise*, *wēg*, *way*, but in words of this kind the short vowel was restored again through the influence of the inflected forms, *lofes*, *weges*, &c.

§ 146. Short vowels were lengthened through the loss of *g* before a following consonant, as *māden*, *maiden*, *sāde*, *he said*, beside older *mægden*, *sægde* (§ 54, Note 2); *brēdan*, *to brandish*, *strēdan*, *to strew*, beside older *bregdan*, *stregdan* (§ 80, Note 2); *brīdel*, *bridle*, *tīle*, *tile*, beside older *brigdel*, *tigele* (§ 96, Note 1).

§ 147. By the loss of a nasal before a following voiceless spirant, as *ōper*, Goth. *anþar*, *other*, *gōs*, OHG. *gans*, *goose*, *sōfte*, OHG. *samfto*, *softly* (§ 61); *swīp*, Goth. *swinþs*, *strong*, *fīf*, Goth. *fimf*, *five* (§ 97); *cūp*, Goth. *kunþs*, *known*, *ūs*, Goth. *uns*, *us* (§ 113).

§ 148. Short diphthongs were lengthened by the loss of intervocalic *h*, as *slēan* from **slēahan*, Goth. *slahan*, *strike, slay* (§ 70); *sēon* from **seohan*, OHG. *sehan*, *see* (§ 87).

§ 149. By the loss of antevocalic *h* after *l* and *r*, as gen. *sealh*, *seal* (§ 64, Note 1); gen. *mēares* beside nom. *mearh*, *horse* (§ 66, Note 3); gen. *ēoles* beside nom. *eolh*, *elk* (§ 84, Note 1); gen. *fēores* beside nom. *forh*, *life* (§ 85, Note 4); gen. *hōles* beside nom. *holh*, *he* (§ 106, Note).

THE SHORTENING OF LONG VOWELS.

§ 150. Much uncertainty exists about the shortening of long vowels. They were probably shortened before double consonants some time during the OE. period, as *bliss*, *joy*, *lammæsse*, *Lammas*, *wimman*, *woman*, beside older *līps*, *hlāfmæsse*, *wifman*; *blæddre*, *bladder*, *deoppra*, *deper*, beside older *blædre*, *dēopra*, see § 260.

§ 151. In the first or second elements of compounds which were no longer felt as such, as *enlefan*, prim. Germanic **ainlibōn*-, cp. Goth. dat. *ainlibim*, *eleven*; *sīppan*, *ioppan* from *sīp* + *pan*, *since*. *ēorod* from *eoh* + *rād*, *troop of cavalry*; *werod* from *wer* + *rād*, *multitude, army*. Adjectives ending in *-lic*, as *dēadlic*, *deadly*, see § 634.

§ 152. From what has been said in §§ 54-151 it will be seen that the Germanic vowel-system (§ 45) assumed the following shape in OE.:—

Short vowels	<i>a, æ, e, i, o, u, œ, y</i>
Long „	<i>ā, ǣ, ē, ī, ō, ū, œ̄, ȳ</i>
Short diphthongs	<i>ea, eo, ie, io</i>
Long „	<i>ēa, ēo, iē, iō</i>

CHAPTER V

THE PRIM. GERMANIC EQUIVALENTS OF THE OE. VOWELS OF ACCENTED SYLLABLES

A. THE SHORT VOWELS.

§ 153. **a** = (1) Germanic **a** in open syllables when originally followed by an **ǣ**, **ō**, **ū** in the next syllable, as *faran*, *to go*; *nacod*, *naked*; pl. *dagas*, *days*, gen. *daga*, dat. *dagum* (§ 57); gen. *clawe*, *of a claw*; *pawian* from **pawōjan*, *to thaw* (§ 74).

= (2) Germanic **a** in closed syllables before double consonants (except **hh**), **sc**, and **st**, when the next syllable originally contained a guttural vowel, as *abbod*, *abbot*; *catte*, *cat*; *sacc*, *sack*; *wascan*, *to wash*; *brastlian*, *to crackle* (§ 57).

§ 154. **a** (o) = Germanic **a** before nasals, as *lang*, *long*, *long*; *lamb*, *lomb*, *lamb*; *mann*, *monn*, *man*; *nama*, *noma*, *name* (§ 59).

§ 155. **æ** = (1) Germanic **a** in closed syllables, as *dæg*, *day*; *bær*, *he bore*; *sæt*, *he sat* (§ 54).

= (2) Germanic **a** in open syllables when followed by a palatal vowel or vocalic nasal or liquid in the next syllable, as *æcer*, *field*; *fæder*, *father*; gen. *dæges*, *of a day*, dat. *dæge*; *fæpm*, *embrace*, *fathom*; *hægl*, *hail* (§ 54).

= (3) Germanic **a** by semi-umlaut, as *æpele* from **apali*, *noble*; *æpeling* from **apul-ing*, *nobleman*; *gædeling* from **gadul-ing*, *companion* (§ 58).

- § 156. e = (1) Germanic e, as *beran*, to bear; *cwene*, woman; *weg*, way (§ 80).
 = (2) i-umlaut of æ, as *bedd* (Goth. *badi*), bed; here, army; *lecgan*, to lay (§ 55).
 = (3) i-umlaut of a (o), as *ende*, end; *benc*, bench; *sendan*, to send (§ 60).
 = (4) i-umlaut of o, as dat. *dehter*, beside nom. *dohtor*, daughter; *ele*, oil; *exen*, oxen (§ 107).
- § 157. i = (1) Germanic i, as *biddan*, to pray; *bireþ*, he bears; *bindan*, to bind; *ridon*, we rode; *riden*, ridden (§ 96).
 = (2) Germanic e before m, as *niman* (OHG. *neman*), to take (§ 81).
 = (3) Latin e before nasal + consonant in early loanwords, as *gimm* (Lat. *gemma*, gem; *pinsian* (Lat. *pensāre*), to weigh, ponder (§ 82).
 = (4) older eo (ie) before hs and ht, as *cniht*, boy; *six*, six (§ 86).
 = (5) older ie, see § 170.
 = (6) the unrounding of y before and after c, g, h in late WS. and Anglian, as *cinn*, race, generation; *cining*, king; *þincan*, to seem; *fliht*, flight (§ 112, Note 2).
- § 158. o = (1) Germanic o, as *dohtor*, daughter; *coren*, chosen; *hord*, treasure; *oxa*, ox (§ 106).
 = (2) a (o), see § 154.
- § 159. u = (1) Germanic u, as *curon*, they chose; *dumb*, dumb; *hund*, dog; *hungor*, hunger (§ 111).
 = (2) Germanic o before or after labials, as *bucc* (OHG. *boc*), buck; *full* (OHG. *fol*), full; *fugol* (OHG. *fogal*), bird; *wulf* (OHG. *wolf*), wolf (§ 108).

- = (3) Germanic *o* before nasals, as *guma*, *man* ;
hunig, *honey* ; *þunor*, *thunder* (§ 109).
 - = (4) older *eo* in the combination *weo-*, as
swurd, *sword* ; *swuster*, *sister* (§ 94).
 - = (5) older *io* in the combination *wio-*, as
wucu, *week* ; *wuduwe*, *widow* (§ 103).
- § 160. *y* = (1) i-umlaut of *u*, as *bycgan* (Goth. *bugjan*),
to buy ; *cyning*, *king* ; *gylden*, *golden* ;
wyllen, *woollen* (§ 112).
- = (2) older *ie*, see § 170.

B. THE LONG VOWELS.

- § 161. *ā* = (1) Germanic *ai*, as *ān*, *one* ; *bāt*, *he bit* ;
hāl, *whole* ; *hātan*, *to call* (§ 133).
- = (2) Germanic *ǣ* before *w*, as *blāwan*, *to blow* ;
cnāwan, *to know* ; *sāwon*, *they saw*
(§ 120).
 - = (3) Germanic *ǣ* in the combination *ǣg* fol-
lowed by a guttural vowel, as pl.
māgas, beside sing. *mǣg*, *kinsman* ;
pret. *lāgon*, *they lay* (§ 120).
 - = (4) lengthening of final *a* in monosyllables,
as *hwā*, *who?* ; *swā*, *so* (§ 79).
- § 162. *ǣ* = (1) Germanic *ǣ* (non-WS. *ē*), as *bǣron*, *they bore* ; *cwǣdon*, *they said* ; *dǣd*, *deed* ;
rǣdan, *to advise* (§ 119).
- = (2) i-umlaut of *ā* = Germanic *ai*, as *dǣlan*,
to divide ; *hǣlan*, *to heal* ; *hǣp*, *heath*
(§ 134).
 - = (3) i-umlaut of *ā* = Germanic *ǣ* before *w*, as
cnǣwþ, *he knows* ; *lǣwan*, *to betray*
(§ 120).
 - = (4) OE. *æg*, as *mǣden*, *maiden*, *sǣde*, *he said*, beside *mægden*, *sægde* (§ 54,
Note 2).

- = (5) Latin *ā* in early loanwords, as *nāp* (Lat. *nāpus*), *turnip*; *stræt* (Lat. *strāta*), *street* (§ 119, Note 3).
- § 163. *ē* = (1) Germanic *ē*, as *hēr*, *here*; *mēd*, *pay*, *reward* (§ 125).
- = (2) i-umlaut of Germanic *ō*, as *bēc*, *books*; *fēt*, *feet*; *dēman*, *to judge*; *sēcan*, *to seek* (§ 129).
- = (3) i-umlaut of *ō* = Germanic nasalized *ā*, as *ēhtan*, *to persecute*; *fēhþ*, *he seizes* (§ 118).
- = (4) i-umlaut of *ō* = Germanic *æ* before nasals, as *cwēn*, *queen, wife*; *wēnan*, *to hope* (§ 122).
- = (5) i-umlaut of *ō* = Germanic *am*, *an* before *f*, *þ*, *s*, as *sēfte*, *soft*; *tēþ*, *teeth*; *gēs*, *geese* (§ 62).
- = (6) OE. *eg*, as *brēdan*, *to brandish*, *rēn*, *rain*, beside *bregdan*, *regn* (§ 80, Note 2).
- = (7) lengthening of final *e* in monosyllables, as *hē*, *he*; *mē*, *me*; *þē*, *thee* (§ 95).
- = (8) early WS. *ēa* = Germanic *au*, before *c*, *g*, *h* and after *c*, *g*, *sc*, as *bēcen*, *beacon*; *ēge*, *eye*; *hēh*, *high*; *cēpian*, *to buy*; *gēt*, *he poured out*; *scēf*, *he pushed* (§ 135, Note 1).
- § 164. *ī* = (1) Germanic *ī*, as *bītan*, *to bite*; *īs*, *ice*; *mīn*, *mine*; *rīdan*, *to ride* (§ 126).
- = (2) Germanic *im*, in before *f*, *þ*, as *fīf* (Goth. *fimf*), *five*; *līpe*, *gentle*; *swīþ*, *strong* (§ 97).
- = (3) OE. *ig*, as *brīdel*, *bridle*, *sīpe*, *scythe*, beside *brigdel*, *sigpe* (§ 96, Note 1).
- = (4) older *ie*, see § 174.

= (5) Latin *ē* (œ) in early loanwords, as *cīpe* (Lat. *cēpa*), *onion*; *pīn* (Lat. *pœna*, late Lat. *pēna*), *torture* (§ 125, Note).

§ 165. *ō* = (1) Germanic *ō*, as *bōc*, *book*; *brōþor*, *brother*; *grōwan*, *to grow*; *fōr*, *he went* (§ 128).

= (2) Germanic nasalized *ā*, as *brōhte*, *he brought*; *fōn* from **fōhan*, older **fāhan*, *to seize*; *pōhte*, *he thought* (§ 117).

= (3) Germanic *æ* before nasals, as *mōna*, *moon*; *nōmon*, *they took*; *sōna*, *soon* (§ 121).

= (4) Germanic *am*, *an* before *f*, *þ*, *s*, as *sōfte*, *softly*; *gōs*, *goose*; *tōþ*, *tooth* (§ 81).

(5) from Germanic *o* by loss of *h*, as gen. *hōles* beside nom. *holh*, *hole* (§ 106, Note).

§ 166. *ū* = (1) Germanic *ū*, as *hūs*, *house*; *mūs*, *mouse*; *scūfan*, *to push*; *þūsend*, *thousand* (§ 131).

= (2) Germanic final *wō*, as *cū*, *cow*; *hū*, *how* (§ 130).

= (3) Germanic *un* before *þ*, *s*, as *cūþ*, *known*; *mūþ*, *mouth*; *ūs*, *us* (§ 113).

= (4) Germanic *u* by loss of *h*, as gen. pl. *sūla* beside nom. sing. *sulh*, *plough* (§ 114).

§ 167. *ȳ* = (1) i-umlaut of Germanic *ū*, as *brȳd*, *bride*; *mȳs*, *mice*; *brȳcþ*, *he enjoys* (§ 132).

= (2) i-umlaut of *ū* = Germanic *un* before *þ*, *s*, as *cȳþan*, *to make known*; *ȳst*, *storm* (§ 114).

= (3) older *īe*, see § 174.

C. THE SHORT DIPHTHONGS.

§ 168. *ea* = (1) Germanic *a* by breaking, as *eall*, *all*, *ceald*, *cold* (§ 64); *heard*, *hard*; *wearþ*, *he became* (§ 66); *eahta*, *eight*; *weaxan*, *to grow*; *seah*, *he saw* (§ 68).

- = (2) older æ = Germanic a, after palatal c, g, sc, as *ceaster*, *city*, *fortress*; *geaf*, *he gave*; *sceal*, *shall* (§ 72).
- § 169. eo = (1) Germanic e by breaking, as *meolcan*, *to milk*; *sceolh*, *wry*, *oblique* (§ 84); *eorþe*, *earth*; *heorte*, *heart* (§ 85); *cneohþ*, *boy*; *feohtan*, *to fight* (§ 86).
- = (2) i-umlaut of Germanic a before w, as *eowestre*, *sheepfold*; *meowle*, *maiden* (§ 77).
- = (3) Germanic antevocalic ew, as gen. *cneowes*, *treowes*, beside nom. *cnēo*, *knee*, *trēo*, *tree* (§ 89).
- = (4) Germanic e by u-umlaut, as *eofor*, *boar*; *meolu*, *meal*, *flour*; *seofon*, *seven* (§ 92).
- § 170. ie (later i, y) = (1) i-umlaut of ea = Germanic a by breaking, as *fiellan*, *to fell*; *ieldra*, *elder*, *older* (§ 65); *ierfe*, *inheritance*; *dierne*, *secret* (§ 67); *hliehhan*, *to laugh*; *sliehþ*, *he slays* (§ 69).
- = (2) i-umlaut of io = Germanic i by breaking, as *fiehst*, *thou fightest*; *ierre*, *angry*; *siehþ*, *he sees* (§ 99).
- = (3) Germanic e after palatal c, g, sc, as *cieres*, *cherry-tree*; *giefan*, *to give*; *scieran*, *to shear* (§ 91).
- = (4) i-umlaut of ea, after palatal c, g, as *ciele*, *cold*; *giest*, *guest* (§ 73).
- § 171. io (later eo) = (1) Germanic i by breaking, as *liornian*, *to learn*; *miox*, *manure* (§ 98).
- = (2) Germanic i by u-, o/a-umlaut, as *clio-pung*, *calling*; *mioluc*, *milk* (§ 101); *liofast*, *thou livest* (§ 102).

D. THE LONG DIPHTHONGS.

§ 172. *ēa* = (1) Germanic *au*, as *cēas*, *he chose*; *dēaþ*, *death*; *ēage*, *eye*; *hēafod*, *head*; *rēad*, *red* (§ 135).

= (2) Germanic *ǣ* after palatal *c*, *g*, *sc*, as *cēace*, *jaw*; *gēafon*, *they gave*; *gēar*, *year*; *scēap*, *sheep* (§ 124).

= (3) Germanic *ǣ* by breaking before *h*, as *nēah*, *near*; *nēar*, older **nēahur*, *nearer* (§ 123).

= (4) Germanic *aw* which became final in prim. OE., as *hrēa*, *raw*; *strēa*, *straw* (§ 75).

= (5) from *au* after the loss of intervocalic *w*, as *clēa* from **cla(w)u*, *claw*; *prēa* from **pra(w)u*, *threat* (§ 75).

= (6) Germanic *aw* in the combination *ēaw* = Germanic *aww*, as *dēaw* (Goth. **daggwa-*), *dew*; *hēawan*, *to hew* (§ 76).

= (7) OE. *ea*, Germanic *a*, by loss of antevocalic *h* after *l* and *r*, as gen. *sēales*, *wēales*, beside nom. *sealh*, *willow*, *wealth*, *foreign* (§ 64, Note 1); gen. *fēares*, *mēares*, beside nom. *fearh*, *pig*, *mearh*, *horse* (§ 66, Note 3).

= (8) OE. *ea*, by loss of intervocalic *h*, as *ēa*, *river*; *slēan*, *to slay*; *tēar*, *tear* (§ 70).

§ 173. *ēo* = (1) Germanic *eu*, as *cēosan*, *to choose*; *dēop*, *deep*; *lēof*, *dear*; *pēof*, *thief* (§ 137).

= (2) Germanic *ew* which became final in prim. OE., as *cnēo*, *knee*; *trēo*, *tree* (§ 88).

- = (3) Germanic *ew* in the combination *ēow*
= Germanic *eww*, as *trēow*, *trust*,
faith (§ 90).
- = (4) OE. *eo*, Germanic *e*, by loss of ante-
vocalic *h* after *l* and *r*, as *fēolan*, *to*
hide; gen. *ēoles*, beside nom. *eolh*,
elk (§ 84, Note 1); gen. *fēores*, beside
nom. *feorh*, *life* (§ 85, Note 4).
- = (5) OE. *eo* by loss of intervocalic *h*, as
sēon, *to see*; *swēor*, *father-in-law*;
gen. *fēos*, beside nom. *feoh*, *cattle*
(§ 87).

§ 174. *īe* (later *ī*, *ȳ*) = (1) *i*-umlaut of *ēa*, Germanic *au*,
as *geliefan*, *to believe*; *hieran*, *to*
hear; *hiehsta*, *highest* (§ 136).

- = (2) *i*-umlaut of *īo*, Germanic *iu*, as *cīesþ*, *he*
chooses; *dīerling*, *darling*; *liehtan*, *to*
give light; *tiehþ*, *he draws, leads* (§ 138).
- = (3) *i*-umlaut of *īo*, Germanic *ī* before *h*, *ht*
by breaking, as *liehst*, *thou lendest*;
liehtan, *to lighten, make easier* (§ 127).
- = (4) *i*-umlaut of *īo* (*ēo*), Germanic *ij* + guttural
vowel, as *fiend* from **fijandiz*, *fiends*;
friend from **frijōndiz*, *friends* (§ 105).
- = (5) Germanic *ew* in the combination *īew(e)*
= Germanic *ewwj*, as *getriewe*, *true*,
faithful (§ 90).
- = (6) Germanic *ew* in the combination *īew(e)*
= Germanic *ewj*, as *nīewe*, *new* (§ 90).

§ 175. *īo* (*ēo*) = (1) Germanic *iu*, as *geþiode*, *geþēode*,
language; *liode*, *lēode*, *people*; *þiostre*,
þēostre, *dark* (§ 138).

- = (2) Germanic *i* or *ij* + guttural vowel, as
fiond, *fēond*, Goth. *fijands*, *fiend*,
enemy; *friond*, *frēond*, Goth. *frijōnds*,

friend; neut. pl. *þrío*, *þrēo* from **þriju*,
Goth. *þrija*, *three* (§ 104).

= (3) Germanic *i* by breaking before *h* and *ht*,
as *þion*, *þēon*, OHG. *dihan*, *to thrive*; *lioh*,
lēoh, OHG. *lih*, *lend thou*; *betwēoh*, *be-*
tween; *lēoht*, OHG. *lihti*, adj. *light* (§ 127).

THE CHIEF DEVIATIONS OF THE OTHER DIALECTS FROM WEST SAXON.

§ 176. *a* (Anglian) = WS. *ea* before *l*+consonant, as
cald, *cold*, *fallan*, *to fall*, *haldan*, *to hold*,
WS. *ceald*, *feallan*, *healdan* (§ 63).

§ 177. *æ* (Anglian) = (1) WS. *ea* before *h* and *h*+con-
sonant, as *sæh*, *he saw*, *fæx*, *hair*, *æhta*,
eight, WS. *seah*, *feax*, *eahta* (§ 68, Note 1).
= (2) WS. *ie*, *i*-umlaut of *ea* before *h*+con-
sonant, as *hlæhha(n)*, *to laugh*, *mæhtig*,
mighty, WS. *hliehhan*, *miehtig* (§ 69,
Note).

§ 178. *æ* (later *e*) = (1) WS. *ea* before *r*+guttural, as
berg, *pig*, *erc*, *ark*, *færh*, *ferh*, *boar*, *pig*,
mærc, *merc*, *boundary*, WS. *bearg*, *earc*,
fearh, *mearc* (§ 66, Note 1).

= (2) WS. *ie*, *i*-umlaut of *ea* before *l*+con-
sonant, as *ældra*, *eldra*, *older*, *fælla(n)*,
fella(n), *to fell*, WS. *ieldra*, *fiellan* (§ 65,
Note).

§ 179. *æ* beside *ea* (Anglian) = WS. *ea* after palatal
c, *g*, *sc*, as *cæster*, *city*, *fortress*, *gæt*, *gate*,
scæl, *shall*, beside *ceaster*, *geat*, *sceal*
(§ 72, Note 1).

§ 180. *æ* (Mercian for older *ea* by *o/a*-umlaut) = WS. *a*
before gutturals, as *dræca*, *dragon*, *dægas*,
davs, WS. *draca*, *dagas* (§ 78, Note 1).

§ 181. e (Anglian and Ken.) = (1) WS. *ie* after palatal *c, g, sc*, as *gefa(n)*, *to give*, *gelda(n)*, *to pay*, *sceld*, *shield*, WS. *giefan*, *gieldan*, *scield* (§ 91).

= (2) WS. *ie*, i-umlaut of *ea* before *r* + consonant, as *derne*, *secret*, *erfe*, *inheritance*, WS. *dierne*, *ierfe* (§ 67, Note).

= (3) WS. *ie*, i-umlaut of *ea*, after palatal *c, g, sc*, as *cele*, *cold*, *gest*, *guest*, *sceppan*, *to create*, WS. *ciele*, *giest*, *scieppan* (§ 73, Note).

§ 182. e (Anglian) = (1) WS. *eo* before *lc, lh*, as *elh*, *elk*, *melca(n)*, *to milk*, WS. *eolh*, *meolcan* (§ 84).

= (2) WS. *eo* before *h, hs, ht*, as *feh*, *cattle*, *sex*, *six*, *cneht*, *boy*, early WS. *feoh*, *seox*, *cneoht* (§ 86, Note).

= (3) WS. *eo* before *r* + guttural, as *derc*, *dark*, *werc*, *work*, *dweg*, *dwarf*, *ferh*, *life*, WS. *deorc*, *weorc*, *dweorg*, *feorh* (§ 85, Note 2).

§ 183. e (Ken.) = (1) WS. *æ*, as *deg*, *day*, *feder*, *father*, *hefde*, *he had*, WS. *dæg*, *fæder*, *hæfde* (§ 54, Note 1).

= (2) WS. *ea* after palatal *c, g, sc*, as *cester*, *city*, *fortress*, *get*, *gate*, *scel*, *shall*, WS. *ceaster*, *geat*, *sceal* (§ 72, Note 1).

= (3) WS. *y*, i-umlaut of *u*, as *besig*, *busy*, *efel*, *evil*, *senn*, *sin*, WS. *bysig*, *yfel*, *synn* (§ 112, Note 1).

= (4) WS. *ie*, i-umlaut of *ea*, as *eldra*, *older*, *eldu*, *old age*, WS. *ieldra*, *ieldu* (§ 65, Note).

§ 184. i (Anglian) = (1) WS. *ie* before a guttural or *r* + guttural, as *birce*, *birch*, *gebirhta(n)*, *to make bright*, *gesihp*, *vision*, WS. *bierce*, *gebierhtan*, *gesiehp* (§ 99, Note 2).

= (2) WS. *io* (u-umlaut) before l + guttural, as *milc*, *milk*, WS. *mioluc*, *miolc* (§ 101, Note 2).

= (3) WS. *io* (eo) before gutturals, as *getih-hia(n)*, WS. *tiohhian*, *teohhian*, *to arrange*, *think*, *consider* (§ 98, Note 2).

= (4) WS. *u* in the combination *wu-* before gutturals, as *betwih*, *between*, *cwic(u)*, *quick*, *alive*, *wicu*, *week*, WS. *betwuh*, *c(w)ucu*, *wucu* (§ 103).

§ 185. *o* (late Nth.) = late WS. *u* in the combination *wu-*, as *sword*, *sword*, *worþa*, *to become*, late WS. *swurd*, *wurþan* (§ 94).

§ 186. *œ* (Nth.) = (1) WS. *e*, i-umlaut of *o*, as *dat. dœhter*, *to a daughter*, *œle*, *oil*, WS. *dehter*, *ele* (§ 107).

= (2) WS. *e* after *w*, as *cucœþa*, *to say*, *wœg*, *way*, WS. *cweþan*, *weg* (§ 80, Note 1); *cucœlla*, *to kill*, WS. *cwellan* (§ 55, Note 1).

§ 187. *æ* (Anglian) later *ē* = WS. *ēa*, Germanic *au* before *c*, *g*, *h*, as *æc*, *also*, *hæh*, *high*, *tæg*, *rope*, later *ēc*, *hēh*, *tæg*, WS. *ēac*, *hēah*, *tēag* (§ 135, Note 2).

§ 188. *ē* (Anglian and Ken.) = (1) WS. *æ*, Germanic *æ*, as *bēron*, *they bore*, *dēd*, *deed*, *sēton*, *they sat*, *slēpan*, *to sleep*, WS. *bæron*, *dæd*, *sæton*, *slæpon* (§ 119).

= (2) WS. *ēa* after palatal *c*, *g*, *sc*, as *cēce*, *jaw*, *gēr*, *year*, *gēfon*, *they gave*, *scēp*, *sheep*, WS. *cēace*, *gēar*, *gēafon*, *scēap* (§ 124, Note).

= (3) WS. *īe*, i-umlaut of *ēa*, as *gelēfan*, *to believe*, *hēran*, *to hear*, *nēd*, *need*, WS. *geliefan*, *hīeran*, *nīed* (§ 124).

§ 189. *ē* (Anglian) = (1) WS. *ēo*, Germanic *eu*, before

c, g, h, as *rēca(n)*, to smoke, *sēc*, sick, *flēga(n)*, to fly, *lēht*, light, WS. *rēocan*, *sēoc*, *flēogan*, *lēoht* (§ 137, Note 2).

= (2) WS. *īe*, i-umlaut of *ēa* from older *ǣ* by breaking, as **nēsta* from *nēhista*, WS. *nīehsta*, nearest, next (§ 123).

= (3) older *ǣ*, see § 137.

§ 190. *ē* (Ken.) = Anglian and WS. *ȳ*, i-umlaut of *ū*, as *hēf*, hive, *mēs*, mice, *ontēnan*, to open, Anglian and WS. *hȳf*, *mȳs*, *ontȳnan* (§ 132, Note).

§ 191. *ē* (late Ken.) = Anglian and WS. *ǣ*, i-umlaut of *ā*, as *clēne*, clean, *hēlan*, to heal, *hētan*, to heat, Anglian and WS. *clǣne*, *hǣlan*, *hǣtan* (§ 134).

§ 192. *ī* (Anglian) = (1) WS. *īo* (*ēo*), Germanic *ī* before h and ht, as *wīh*, idol, *līh*, lend thou, *līht*, adj. light, WS. *wēoh*, *lēoh*, *lēoht* (§ 127).

= (2) WS. *īe*, i-umlaut of *īo* = Germanic *iu*, before c and ht, as *cīcen*, chicken, *līhtan*, to give light, WS. *cīecen*, *līehtan* (§ 138, Note).

= (3) WS. *īe*, i-umlaut of *īo*, Germanic *ī*, before ht, as *līhtan*, to lighten, make easier (§ 127).

§ 193. *ī* (Nth.) = WS. *ieh*, as *sīs(t)* from **sihis*, thou seest, *sīþ* from **sihþ*, he sees, WS. *siehist*, *siehþ* (§ 99, Note 2).

§ 194. *ǣ* (Nth.) = (1) WS. *ē*, i-umlaut of *ō* of whatever origin, as *bēc*, books, *fēt*, feet, *grēne*, green, WS. *bēc*, *fēt*, *grēne* (§ 129); *gēs*, WS. *gēs*, geese (§ 62); *fēþ*, WS. *fēhþ*, he seizes (§ 118).

= (2) WS. *ǣ*, Germanic *ǣ*, after w, as *huōer*, where, *wōeron*, they were, WS. *hwær*, *wāeron* (§ 119, Note 2).

§ 195. *ea* (Anglian) beside *æ*, see § 179.

§ 196. *ea* (Nth.) = (1) WS. *eo* before *r* + consonant, as
earpe, *earth*, *hearte*, *heart*, *stearra*, *star*,
 WS. *eorpe*, *heorte*, *steorra* (§ 85, Note 3).
 = (2) WS. *e*, Mercian *eo* by *o/a*-umlaut, *beara*,
eata, *to eat*, *treada*, *to tread*, WS. *beran*,
etan, *tredan* (§ 93).

§ 197. *ea* (Mercian) by *u*, *o/a*-umlaut = WS. *a*, as
featu, *vats*, *heafuc*, *hawk*, *fearan*, *to go*,
 WS. *fatu*, *hafuc*, *faran* (§ 78).

§ 198. *eo* (Mercian and Ken.) by *u*-umlaut = WS. *e*
 (before all single consonants except labials
 and liquids), as *eodor*, *enclosure*, *eosol*,
donkey, WS. *edor*, *esol* (§ 92).

§ 199. *eo* (Ken.) by *u*-umlaut = Anglian and WS. *e*
 before gutturals, as *breogo*, *prince*, *reogol*,
rule, Anglian and WS. *brego*, *regol*
 (§ 92).

§ 200. *eo* (Mercian and Ken.) by *o/a*-umlaut = WS. *e*,
 as *beoran*, *to bear*, *eotan*, *to eat*, *feola*,
many, WS. *beran*, *etan*, *fela* (§ 93).

§ 201. *eo* (Mercian and Ken.) = late WS. *u* in the com-
 bination *wu*, as *sweord*, *sword*, *sweostor*,
sister, late WS. *swurd*, *swuster* (§ 94).

§ 202. *io* (Anglian and Ken.) by *u*-umlaut = WS. *i*
 (before all single consonants except labials
 and liquids), as *liomu*, *limbs*, *niopor*, *lower*,
siodu, *custom*, *sionu*, *sinew*, WS. *limu*,
niopor, *sidu*, *sinu* (§ 101).

§ 203. *io* (Anglian and Ken.) by *o/a*-umlaut = WS.
i, as *nioman*, *to take*, *niomaþ*, *they take*,
 WS. *niman*, *nimaþ* (§ 102).

§ 204. *io* (Nth. and Ken.) = WS. *ie*, *i*-umlaut of *io*, Ger-
 manic *i*, as *hiorde*, *shepherd*, *iorre*, *angry*,
 WS. *hierde*, *ierre* (§ 99, Note 1).

- § 205. *io* (Ken.) = WS. *eo* by breaking before *r* + consonant, as *hiorte*, *heart*, *iorþe*, *earth*, *stiorra*, *star*, WS. *heorte*, *eorþe*, *steorra* (§ 85, Note 3).
- § 206. *io* (Ken.) by *o/a*-umlaut = Anglian and WS. *i* before gutturals, as *stiocian*, Anglian and WS. *stician*, *to prick* (§ 102).
- § 207. *io* (Mercian) beside *eo* = WS. *ie*, *i*-umlaut of *io*, as *iorre*, *eorre*, *angry*, *hiorde*, *heorde*, *shepherd*, WS. *ierre*, *hierde* (§ 99, Note 1).
- § 208. *ēa* (Nth.) = Mercian and WS. *ēo*, Germanic *eu*, as *dēap*, *deep*, *dēar*, *deer*, *lēaf*, *dear*, Mercian and WS. *dēop*, *dēor*, *lēof* (§ 137).
- § 209. *io* (Ken.) beside *īa* = (1) Mercian and WS. *ēo*, Germanic *eu*, as *diop* (*diap*), *dior*, *liofo* = Mercian and WS. *dēop*, *dēor*, *lēof* (§ 137).
= (2) WS. *īe*, *i*-umlaut of *īo*, Germanic *iu*, as *diore* (*dīare*), *dear*, *liohtan*, *to give light*, WS. *dīere*, *liehtan* (§ 138).
- § 210. *io* (Mercian) beside *ēo* = WS. *īe*, *i*-umlaut of *īo*, as *dīore* (*dēore*), *liohtan* (*lēohtan*), WS. *dīere*, *liehtan* (§ 138).

CHAPTER VI

THE OLD ENGLISH DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRIMITIVE GERMANIC VOWELS OF UN- ACCENTED SYLLABLES

§ 211. Before formulating the laws which govern the treatment of the vowels in final syllables, it will be useful to state here the laws relating to the treatment of final consonants in prehistoric OE. :—

(1) Final *-m* became *-n*, and then it, as also Indg. final *-n*, disappeared already in primitive Germanic. When

the vowel which thus became final was short, it had the same further development as if it had been originally final, as *geoc*, Goth. *juk*, Lat. *jugum*, Gr. ζυγόν, Indg. **jugóm*, *yoke*; acc. sing. OE. Goth. *wulf*, Lat. *lupum*, Gr. λύκον, Indg. **wlqom*, *wolf*; *giest*, Goth. *gast*, from **gastim*, *guest*, cp. Lat. *turrim*, *tower*; *fōt*, Goth. *fōtu*, from **fōtun*, cp. Lat. *pedem*, Gr. πόδα (§ 34), *foot*; gen. pl. *daga* from **dagōn*, older *-ōm*, *of days*, cp. Gr. θεῶν, *of gods*; *fōta*, *of feet*; and similarly in the gen. plural of the other vocalic and consonantal stems; pret. sing. *nerede*, Goth. *nasida*, prim. Germanic **naziðōn*, older *-ōm*, *I saved*; nom. sing. of feminine and neuter *n*-stems, as *tunge*, Goth. *tuggō*, *tongue*; *ēage*, Goth. *áugō*, *eye*, original ending *-ōn*.

(2) The Indg. final explosives disappeared in prim. Germanic, except after a short accented vowel, as pres. subj. *bere*, Goth. *baírái*, from an original form **bheroīt*, *he may bear*; *bārun*, Goth. *bērun*, *they bore*, original ending *-nt* with vocalic *n* (§ 55); *mōna*, Goth. *mēna*, from an original form **mēnōt*, *moon*; but *þæt*, *that, the*, Indg. **tod*; *hwæt* = Lat. *quod*, *what*; *æt* = Lat. *ad*, *at*.

(3) Final *-z*, which arose from Indg. *-s* by Verner's law (§ 252), disappeared in the West Germanic languages, as nom. sing. *dæg*, OS. *dag*, OHG. *tag*, beside Goth. *dags*, O.Icel. *dagr*, *day*, all from a prim. Germanic form **dagaz*, *day*; and similarly in the nom. sing. of masc. and feminine *i*- and *u*-stems; in the gen. singular of *ō*-, and consonantal stems; in the nom. and acc. plural of masc. and feminine nouns; in the dat. plural of all nouns, adjectives, and pronouns; &c.

NOTE.—It is difficult to account for the *-s* in the nom. plural of *a*-stems in OE. and OS., as *dagas*, OS. *dagos*, *days*, see § 334.

(4) Indg. final *-r* remained, as *fæder*, Goth. *fadar*, Lat. *pater*, Gr. πατήρ, *father*; *mōdor*, Lat. *māter*, Gr. Dor. μήτηρ, *mother*.

§ 212. (1) *a* (= Indg. *a* and *o*), which was originally final or became final in prim. Germanic through the loss of a following consonant, disappeared in dissyllabic and polysyllabic forms already in primitive OE., as *wāt*, Goth. *wait*, Gr. *οἶδα*, *I know*; *wāst*, Goth. *wáist*, Gr. *εἶσθα*, *thou knowest*; pret. first pers. singular of strong verbs, as *band*, *I bound*; *bær*, *I bore*, *sæt*, *I sat*, prim. Germanic **banda*, **bara*, **sata*, from older **bhondha*, **bhora*, **soda*; nom. sing. *wulf* from **wulfaz* = Gr. *λύκος*, *wolf*; acc. *wulf* from **wulfan* = Gr. *λύκον*; nom. acc. neut. *geoc* from **jukan* = Gr. *ζυγόν*, Lat. *jugum*, *yoke*; gen. sing. *dæges* from **dagesa*, older *-o*, *of a day*; *beran* from **beranan* = Indg. **bheronom*, *to bear*; pp. *boren* from **burenaz*, *borne*; pp. *genered* from **nazidaz*, *saved*; *cyning* from **kuningas*, *king*.

§ 213. (2) Original final *e* disappeared in primitive OE. without leaving any trace, but when the *e* was originally followed by a consonant it became *i* in prim. Germanic, and then underwent the same further development in OE. as original *i* (see below), as *wāt*, Goth. *wait* = Gr. *οἶδε*, *he knows*; pret. third pers. singular of strong verbs, as *band*, *he bound*; *bær*, *he bore*; *sat*, *he sat*, prim. Germanic **bande*, **bare*, **sate*, from older **bhondhe*, **bhore*, **sode*; imperative *ber* from **bere* = Gr. *φέρε*, *bear thou*; *nim* from **neme*, *take thou* = Gr. *νέμε*, *distribute thou*; voc. singular *wulf* from **wulfe* = Gr. *λύκε*, Lat. *lupe*, *wolf*; *fif*, Goth. *fimf* = Gr. *πέντε*, Indg. **penqe*, *five*; *mec*, Goth. *mik*, cp. Gr. *ἐμέγε*, *me*. But pl. nom. *fōet*, *fēt* from **fōtiz* older *-ez*, cp. Gr. *πόδες*, Lat. *pedes*, *feet*; *guman* from **gumaniz*, cp. Lat. *homines*, *men*; *hnyte* from **χnutiz*, *nuts*.

§ 214. (3) Final long vowels, inherited from prim. Germanic, became shortened already in prim. OE. :—

-ō (= Indg. *ō* and *ā*) became *u*, as *beru* from **berō* = Gr. *φέρω*, *I bear*; nom. singular *giefu* from **gebō*, Indg. **ghebhā*, *gift*, cp. Gr. *χώρα*, *land*; nom. acc. neut. plural

geocu from *jukō, older *jukā = O.Lat. jugā, Indg. *jugā, yokes.

ī became -i, later -e, as pres. subj. third pers. singular *wile, he will* = O.Lat. *velit*; imper. second pers. singular *nere*, Goth. *nasei*, OHG. *neri*, from *nazī, older *nazij(i), Indg. *noséje, *save thou*.

§ 215. (4) Short u and i, which were originally final or became final through the loss of a consonant, disappeared in trisyllabic and polysyllabic forms. They, as well as the u and i, which arose from the shortening of ō and ī, disappeared also in dissyllabic forms when the first syllable was long, but remained when the first syllable was short. The regular operation of this law was often disturbed by analogical formations.

Regular forms were: nom. sing. *giest* = Goth. *gasts*, from *gastiz, *guest* = Lat. *hostis*, *stranger, enemy*; acc. *giest* = Goth. *gast*, from *gastin = Lat. *hostim; dat. sing. of consonantal stems, as *fōt, fēt* (nom. *fōt, foot*) from *fōti, cp. Gr. *ποδί*; dat. plural of nouns, as *dagum* (nom. *dæg, day*) from *ḍagomiz; *giefum* (nom. *giefu, gift*) from *gebōmiz; *hīer* = Goth. *háusei*, from *ḥauzī, *hear thou*; *sēc* = Goth. *sōkei*, *seek thou*; *bend* = Goth. *bandi*, from *bandī, *band*; in the second and third pers. singular and third pers. plural of the pres. indicative, as prim. Germanic *nimiz, *thou takest*; *nimiḥ, *he takes*; *nemand, *they take*, from older *nemesi, *nemeti, *nemonti (on the OE. endings of these forms, see § 476); sing. nom. *hand* = Goth. *handus, hand*; acc. *hand* = Goth. *handu*; acc. singular of consonantal stems, as *fōt* = Goth. *fōtu, foot*; *fæder* from *faderun, *father*; *guman* from *gumanun, *man*; nom. *lār* from *lāru, older *laizō, *lore, teaching*; neut. pl. *word* from *wordu, older *wurdō, *words*; nom. acc. pl. neuter *yfel* from *ubilū, older *ubilō, *evil*; nom. acc. singular *wini, wine* (OHG. *wini*), from *winiz, *winin, *friend*; *mere* (OHG. *meri*), from *mari, *lake*; nom. plural *wine*

(OHG. *wini*), from **winiz*, older *-ij(i)z*, *-ejes*, *friends*; imperative *sete* from **satī*, Indg. **sodeje*, *set thou*; pres. subj. *scyle* from older **skulī*, *shall*; sing. nom. *sunu* = Goth. *sunus*, *son*; acc. *sunu* = Goth. *sunu*; *feola* (*fela*) = Goth. *filu*, *much*; neut. pl. *fatu*, from **fatō*, *vats*; *beru* (*beoru*) from **berō*, *I bear*. Then after the analogy of these and similar forms were made *feoh* for **feohu*, *money* = Goth. *faíhu*, OHG. *fihu*, Lat. *pecu*, *cattle*; *bindu*, *I bind*, *helpu*, *I help*, *cēosu*, *I choose*, for **bind*, **help*, **cēos*. The final *-u* from older *-w* (§ 265) also disappeared after long stem-syllables, as *gād*, Goth. *gáidw*, *want*, *lack*; *ā*, Goth. *áiw*, *ever*; *hrā*, Goth. *hráiw*, *corpse*; but remained after short stem-syllables, as *bealu*, *evil*, *calamity*, *bearu*, *grove*, beside gen. *bealwes*, *bearwes*.

NOTE.—Final *i*, which remained in the oldest period of the language, regularly became *e* in the seventh century. And final *u* became *o* at an early period, and then in late OE. *a*, whence forms like nom. acc. *sunu*, *suno*, *sunā*, *son*; pl. *fatu*, *fato*, *fata*, *vats*.

§ 216. In trisyllabic forms final *-u*, which arose from prim. Germanic *-ō*, disappeared after a long medial syllable. It also disappeared when the stem and medial syllable were short, but remained when the stem-syllable was long and the medial syllable short, as *leornung* from **lirnungu*, *learning*; *byden* from **budinu*, older *buđinō*, *tub*; pl. *reced* from **rakidu*, older **rakiđō*, *halls*, *palaces*; neut. pl. *yfel* from **uβilu*, older **uβilō*, *evil*; but fem. nom. sing. *hāligu*, *holy*, *hēafodu*, *heads*, *nietenu*, *animals*.

§ 217. (5) The Indg. long diphthongs *-āi*, *-ōi*, *-ōu* became shortened to *-ai*, *-au* in prim. Germanic, and then underwent the same further changes as old *-ai*, *-au*, that is, they became *-æ*, *-ō* in West Germanic.

Later than the shortening mentioned in § 214 occurred the shortening which was undergone in dissyllabic and polysyllabic words by the long vowel, after which an

·n or ·z had disappeared, and by the ·ǣ and ·ō from older ·ai and ·au, which were either already final in prim. Germanic, or had become so after the loss of ·z. In this case a distinction must be made according as the long vowel originally had the 'slurred' (circumflex) or 'broken' (acute) accent (§ 9). ·ō with the circumflex accent became ·e (older æ) after the loss of ·z, but ·a after the loss of ·n. ·ō with the acute accent became ·e (older æ) after the loss of ·n. The ·ǣ and ·ō from older ·ai and ·au became ·e (older æ) and ·a. All these shortenings took place in prehistoric Old English. Examples are:—gen. sing. and nom. plural *gefe* (Anglian) from **gebōz* = Goth. *gibōs*, nom. sing. *giefu* (WS.), *gift*; gen. plural *daga* from **dagōn*, older ·ōm, *of days*; *fōta* from **fōtōn*, *of feet*, cp. Gr. *θεῶν*, *of gods*; and similarly in the gen. plural of other vocalic and consonantal stems; nom. singular of masculine n-stems, as *guma* from **gumō(n)*, *man*; acc. singular *giefe* from **gebōn*, older ·ōm, *gift*, cp. Gr. *χώραν*, *land*; nom. singular of feminine and neuter n-stems, as *tunge* from **tunġōn* = Goth. *tuggō*, *tongue*; *ēage* from **augōn* = Goth. *áugō*, *eye*; *nerede* from **nazidōn*, older ·ōm, *I saved*; *fore*, *before* = Gr. *παρά*, *near*; dat. sing. *dæge* from **dagai*, older ·ōi, *to a day*, cp. Gr. locative *οἶκοι*, *at home*, dat. *λύκῳ*, *to a wolf*; dat. sing. *giefe* = Goth. *gibái*, Indg. **ghebbāi*, *to a gift*, cp. Gr. dat. *χώρα* for **χώραι*, *to land*; fem. dat. sing. *blindre* from **blindizai*, *blind*; masc. nom. plural *blinde* = Goth. *blindái*, *blind*; *bere* = Goth. *baírái*, Gr. *φέροι*, *he may bear*; *eahta* = Goth. *ahtáu*, from an original form **oktōu*, *eight*; *eþpa* = Goth. *aíþþáu*, *or*; gen. singular *sunu* = Goth. *sunáus*, *of a son*.

§ 218. After the operation of the sound-laws described in §§ 212–17, many vowels, which originally stood in medial syllables, came to stand in final syllables in prehistoric OE. These vowels underwent various changes.

1. Indg. o remained longer in unaccented syllables than

in accented syllables in prim. Germanic. It became **a** during the prim. Germanic period except (1) when followed by an **m** which remained in historic times, and (2) when the following syllable originally contained an **u**. In these cases the **o** became **u** in OE., as dat. plural **dagum** beside Goth. **dagam**, prim. Germanic ***ḍagomiz**, *to days*; acc. sing. **brōþur** (later **-or**, **-ar**), from ***brōþorun**, *brother* = Gr. φράτορα (§ 34), *member of a clan*; acc. pl. **brōþur** from ***brōþorunz**. Prim. Germanic **a** remained before **n**, but became **e** (older **æ**) in other cases, as inf. **beran** from ***beranan**, Indg. ***bheronom**, *to bear*; acc. sing. of masc. and feminine **n**-stems, as **guman**, *man*; **tungan**, *tongue*, from **-anun**, older **-onm** (with vocalic **m**); nom. plural **guman**, **tungan**, from **-aniz**, older **-ones**; but **huneg** older **hunæg** (OHG. **honag**), *honey*.

2. Indg. **e** remained in OE. when originally not followed by a palatal vowel in the next syllable, as **hwæper** = Gr. πότερος, *whether, which of two*; gen. sing. **dæges** from ***ḍagesa**, older **-o**, *of a day*; pp. **bunden** from ***bundenaz**, Indg. ***bhndhenos**, *bound*; **ōþer** from ***anþeraz**, *other*. But when **e** was originally followed by a palatal vowel it became **i** already in prim. Germanic, see below.

3. Prim. Germanic **i** remained in OE. before palatal consonants, as **englisc**, *English*; **hefig**, *heavy*; **ūsic**, *us*. It also remained in other cases in the oldest period of the language, but became **e** in the seventh century (see § 215, Note), as pp. **genered** from ***-nazidaz**, *saved*; **nimes(t)**, OHG. **nimis**, *thou takest*, Indg. ***nemesi**; **nimeþ**, OHG. **nimit**, *he takes*, Indg. ***nemeti**. The **e** in the second and third pers. singular was mostly syncopated in WS. and Ken., but generally remained in Anglian (see § 476).

4. Prim. Germanic **u** always remained before a following **m**, but in other cases it became **o** already at an early period, and in late OE. also **a** (see § 215, Note), as dat. plural **sunum**, *to sons*; **fōtum**, *to feet*, prim. Germanic

·umiz ; pret. pl. indicative bārun, ·on, *they bore* ; neredun, ·on, *they saved*.

5. All long vowels underwent shortening already in prehistoric Old English :—

ǣ > e, as fæder, cp. Gr. πατήρ, *father* ; neredes (older ·dæs) from *nazidǣs, cp. Goth. nasidēs, *thou didst save*.

ī > i, later e, except before palatal consonants, as gylden (OHG. guldin) from *gulþinaz ; mægden = OHG. magatīn, *maiden* ; subj. pret. plural bāren = Goth. bēreina, OHG. bārīn, *they might bear* ; but mihtig = Goth. mah-teigs, OHG. mahtig, *mighty* ; gōdlic, *goodly*, beside the stressed form gelic, *like*.

ō > u, later o, a (cp. § 215, Note), but u always remained before a following m, as huntōþ, ·aþ, from *χuntōþuz, *hunting* ; heardost, *hardest*, lēofost, *dearest*, prim. Germanic superlative suffix ·ōst- ; sealfas(t) = Goth. salbōs, *thou anointest* ; sealfað = Goth. salbōþ, *he anoints* ; pret. sing. sealfude, ·ode, ·ade = Goth. salbōða, *I anointed* ; pp. ge-sealfud, ·od, ·ad = Goth. salbōþs ; but always u in the dat. pl. giefum = Goth. gibōm, *to gifts* ; tungum = Goth. tuggōm, *to tongues*. The combination ·ōj- was weakened to ·i- (through the intermediate stages ·ēj-, ·ej-, ·ij-), as in the inf. of the second class of weak verbs : lufian, *to love* ; macian, *to make* ; sealfian, *to anoint*. The prim. OE. ending ·ōþ from older ·onþ (see § 61), ·anþ, ·anþi, Indg. ·onti, was regularly weakened to ·aþ, as berap = Gr. Dor. φέρωντι, *they bear*.

ū > u (later o, a). In this case the ū arose in prim. OE. from the loss of n before a voiceless spirant (§ 286). Examples are : fracuþ, ·oþ, from *frakunþaz, *wicked* = Goth. frakunþs, *despised* ; duguþ from *dugunþ = OHG. tugunt, *valour, strength* ; geoguþ from *jugunþ = OHG. jugunt, *youth*.

§ 219. If a nasal or a liquid, preceded by a mute consonant, came to stand finally after the loss of a vowel

(§ 212), it became vocalic, and then a new vowel was generated before it in prehistoric OE. just as was the case in prehistoric OS. and OHG. The vowel thus generated was generally *e* when the preceding vowel was palatal, but *o* (*u*), later also *e*, when the preceding vowel was guttural, as nom. *efen* from **eġnaz*, cp. Goth. *ibns*, *even*; nom. acc. *æcer* from **akr*, older **akraz*, **akran*, cp. Goth. *akrs*, *akr*, *field*; nom. acc. *fugul*, -*ol*, from **fugl*, older **foglaz*, **foglan*, cp. Goth. *fugls*, *fugl*, *bird*, *fowl*; nom. acc. *māþum* from **maipm*, older **maipmaz*, **maipman*, cp. Goth. *máipms*, *máipm*, *gift*. In the oldest period of the language forms with and without the new vowel often existed side by side. The new vowel occurred most frequently before *r*. Vocalic *l* was common especially after dentals, and vocalic *m* and *n* generally occurred after a short syllable. The forms with vocalic *l*, *m*, *n*, *r* in the nom. acc. singular were due to levelling out the stem-form of the inflected cases. Thus regular forms were: nom. *segel*, *sail*; *māþum*, *gift*; *bēacen*, *sign*, *beacon*; *efen*, *even*; *æcer*, *field*; *þunor*, *thunder*; gen. *segles*, *māþmes*, *bēacnes*, *efnes*, *æcres*, *þunres*. Then from the latter were formed new nominatives *segl*, *māþm*, *bēacn*, *efn*; and from the former new genitives *æceres*, *þunores*. Examples are: *æppel*, *æpl*, *apple*; *hūsul*, *hūsel*, *hūsl*, *Eucharist*, cp. Goth. *hunsl*, *sacrifice*; *nædl* (Goth. *nēpla*), *needle*; *nægl*, *nail*; *setl* (Goth. *sitls*), *seat*; *tempel*, *templ* (Lat. *templum*), *temple*; *tungul*, -*ol*, -*el*, *star*. *bōsm*, *bosom*; *botm*, *bottom*; *æþm*, *breath*; *þrosm*, *smoke*; *wæstum*, -*em*, *wæstm*, *growth*. *hræfn*, *raven*; *regn* (Goth. *rign*), *rain*; *stefn*, *voice*; *tācen*, *tācn* (Goth. *táikns*), *token*; *þegen*, *þegn*, *retainer*; *wægn*, *wagon*. *ātr*, *ātor*, *poison*; *fæger* (Goth. *fagrs*), *fair*, *beautiful*; *finger* (Goth. *figgrs*), *finger*; *hlūtor* (Goth. *hlūtrs*), *pure*, *clear*; *snotor*, *wise*; *winter* (Goth. *wintrus*), *winter*; *wundor*, *wonder*.

§ 220. In OE., especially in the later period, a svara-
bhakti vowel was often developed between *r* or *l*+*c*, *g*, or
h; and between *r*, *l*, *d*, or *t*+*w*. In the former case the
quality of the vowel thus developed regulated itself after
the quality of the stem-vowel. In the latter case it fluc-
tuated between *u* (*o*) and *e*, rarely *a*. The development of
a similar vowel in these consonant combinations also took
place in OS. and OHG. Examples are: nom. sing. *burug*,
buruh (OS. OHG. *burug*) beside *burg*, *burh* (OS. OHG.
burg), *city*; but dat. sing. and nom. plural *byrig* beside
byrg; *byriga* beside *byrga*, *bail*, *surety*; *fyligan* beside
fylgan, *to follow*; *myrigp* beside *myrgp*, *mirth*; *stýric*
beside *stýrc*, *calf*, cp. modern northern dial. *støræk*
beside *stāk*; *woruhte*, *worohte* (OHG. *worahta*) beside
worhte (OHG. *worhta*), *he worked*. *beadu*, -*o*, *battle*,
gen. dat. *beaduwe*, -*owe* beside *beadwe*; *bealu*, *evil*,
gen. *bealuwes*, -*owes* beside *bealwes*; *bearu*, *grove*,
bearuwes, -*owes* beside *bearwes*; *frætuwe*, -*ewe* beside
frætwe, *trappings*; *gearu*, *ready*, gen. *gearuwes* (OHG.
garawes), -*owes*, -*ewes* beside *gearwes*; *gearuwe*
(OHG. *garawa*), -*ewe* beside *gearwe* (OHG. *garwa*),
yarrow; *geolu*, *yellow*, gen. *geoluwes*, -*owes* beside
geolwes; *melu*, *meal*, *flour*, gen. *meluwes* (OHG.
melawes), -*owes*, -*ewes* beside *melwes* (OHG. *melwes*);
nearu, *narrow*, gen. *nearuwes*, -*owes*, -*ewes* beside
nearwes; and similarly with several other words.

§ 221. Original short medial vowels in open syllables
regularly remained in trisyllabic forms when the stem-
syllable was short, as *æpele*, *noble*; gen. sing. *heofones*,
metodes, *nacodes*, *rodores*, *stapoles*, *wæteres*, beside
nom. *heofon*, *heaven*; *metod*, *creator*; *nacod*, *naked*;
rodor, *sky*; *stapol*, *pillar*; *wæter*, *water*; gen. dat. sing.
ides beside nom. *ides*, *woman*; pret. *fremedest* from
**framidæ̃s*, *thou didst perform*; *neredest* from **nazidæ̃s*,
thou didst save. On the syncope of *i* after prim. Germanic

short stems in the preterite and past participle of weak verbs, see § 534.

They also remained in closed syllables irrespectively as to whether the stem-syllable was long or short, as gen. sing. *cyninges*, *fætelses*, *hengestes*, *wēstennes*, beside nom. *cyning*, *king*; *fætels*, *tub*; *hengest*, *stallion*; *wēsten*, *desert*; *fāgettan*, *to change colour*; pres. participle *nimende*, *taking*; superlatives *ieldesta*, *oldest*; *lengesta*, *longest*. It is difficult to account for the syncope in *hiehsta*, *highest*; and *niehsta*, *nearest*.

They also remained after consonant combinations, when preceded by a closed stem-syllable, or a stem-syllable containing a long diphthong or vowel, as pret. *hyngrede*, *timbrede*, *dieglede*, *frēfrede*, beside inf. *hynggran*, *to hunger*, *timbran*, *to build*, *dieglan*, *to conceal*, *frēfran*, *to comfort*; dat. pl. *syndrigum* beside nom. sing. *syndrig*, *separate*.

They regularly disappeared in open syllables when the stem-syllable was long, as gen. sing. *diegles*, *engles*, *hālgēs*, *hēafdes*, *ōpres*, beside nom. *diegol*, *secret*; *engel*, *angel*; *hālig*, *holy*; *hēafod*, *head*; *ōper*, *other*; *hālgian*, *to make holy*; *strengþu* from **stranþiþō* (OHG. *strengida*), *strength*; *ieldra* (Goth. *alpiza*), *older*; gen. dat. sing. *frōfre*, *mōnþe*, *sāwle*, beside nom. *frōfor*, *consolation*; *mōnaþ*, *month*; *sāwol*, *soul*; *dældest* (Goth. *dáilidēs*), *thou didst divide*; *hīrdest* (Goth. *háusidēs*), *thou heardest*.

§ 222. Short medial guttural vowels, followed by a guttural vowel in the next syllable, often became palatal by dissimilation, as *hafela*, *head*, beside *hafola*; *nafela*, *navel*, beside *nafola*; *gaderian* from **gaðurōjan*, *to gather*; pl. nom. *heofenas*, gen. *heofena*, dat. *heofenum*, beside sing. gen. *heofones*, dat. *heofone*, nom. *heofon*, *heaven*; pl. nom. *roderas*, gen. *rodera*, dat. *roderum*, beside sing. gen. *rodores*, dat. *rodore*, nom. *rodor*, *firmament*; pl. nom. *stapelas*, gen. *stapela*, dat. *stapelum*, beside sing. gen. *stapoles*, dat. *stapole*, nom. *stapol*, *pillar*. The inter-

change between *e* and *o* in forms like *sealfedon* (OHG. *salbōtun*), *they anointed*, beside *sealfode* (OHG. *salbōta*), *he anointed*, is probably due to the same cause.

§ 223. In prim. OE. polysyllabic forms the second medial short vowel disappeared when it stood in an open syllable, but remained when it stood in a closed syllable, as acc. sing. masc. *ōþerne* from **anþeranō(n)*, *other*; and similarly *glædne*, *glad*; *gōdne*, *good*; *hāligne*, *holy*; &c.; dat. fem. singular *ōþerre* from **anþerizai*; and similarly *glædre*, *gōdre*, *hāligre*; gen. plural *ōþerra*, prim. Germanic **anþeraizō(n)*, older *-ōm*; and similarly *gōdra*, *hāligra*. But having a secondary accent in a closed syllable, the vowel regularly remained, as nom. plural *gædelingas*, *companions*; dat. singular *gaderunge*, *to an assembly*; *innemesta*, *inmost*.

NOTE.—1. There are many exceptions to the above sound-laws, which are due to analogical formations. Thus forms like masc. and neut. gen. singular *micles*, dat. *miclum*, *great*; *yflēs*, *yflum*, beside *yfeles*, *yfelum*, *evil*; gen. pl. *glædra*, *glad*, were made on analogy with forms having a long stem-syllable. And forms like gen. singular *dēofoles* (nom. *dēofol*, *devil*), *ēpeles* (nom. *ēpel*, *native land*), *hāliges*, *holy*, beside older *dēofles*, *ēples*, *hālges*, were made on analogy with forms having a short stem-syllable.

2. In late OE. syncope often took place after short stems, and sometimes in closed syllables, as *betra*, *better*; *circe*, *church*; *fægnian*, *to rejoice*, *gadian*, *to gather*, beside older *betera*, *cirice*, *fægenian*, *gaderian*; *betsta*, *best*; *winstre*, *left (hand)*, beside older *betesta*, *winestre*.

3. Original medial long vowels, which were shortened at an early period, were syncopated in trisyllabic forms in OE., but remained when the shortening took place at a later period, as dat. singular *mōnþe* beside *mōnaþ* (Goth. *mēnōps*), *month*; but *lōcōdest* from **lōkōdæs*, *thou didst look*.

CHAPTER VII

ABLAUT (VOWEL GRADATION)

§ 224. By ablaut is meant the gradation of vowels both in stem and suffix, which was caused by the primitive Indo-Germanic system of accentuation. See § 9.

The vowels vary within certain series of related vowels, called ablaut-series. In OE., to which this chapter will be chiefly confined, there are six such series, which appear most clearly in the stem-forms of strong verbs. Four stem-forms are to be distinguished in an OE. strong verb which has vowel gradation as the characteristic mark of its different stems:—(1) The present stem, to which belong all the forms of the present, (2) the stem of the first or third person singular of the preterite indicative, (3) the stem of the preterite plural, to which belong the second pers. pret. singular, and the whole of the pret. subjunctive, (4) the stem of the past participle.

By arranging the vowels according to these four stems we arrive at the following system:—

	i.	ii.	iii.	iv.
I.	ī	ā	i	i
II.	ēo	ēa	u	o
III.	i, e	a	u	u, o
IV.	e	æ	æ	o
V.	e	æ	æ	e
VI.	a	ō	ō	æ (a)

NOTE.—1. The six series as given above represent the simple vowels and diphthongs when uninfluenced by neighbouring sounds. For the changes caused by umlaut and the influence of consonants, see the phonology, especially §§ 47–52, and the various classes of strong verbs, §§ 490–519.

2. On the difference in Series III between i and e, see § 41; and between u and o, § 43.

3. Strong verbs belonging to Series II have *īe* from older *iu* (§ 138) in the second and third pers. singular of the pres. indicative; and strong verbs belonging to Series III-V with *e* in the infinitive have *i* in the second and third pers. singular of the pres. indicative (§ 41).

§ 225. But although the series of vowels is seen most clearly in the stem-forms of strong verbs, the learner must not assume that ablaut occurs in strong verbs only. Every syllable of every word of whatever part of speech contains some form of ablaut. As for example the sonantal elements in the following stem-syllables stand in ablaut relation to each other:—

līpan, to go, *līpend*, sailor: *lād*, way, course: *lida*, sailor; *lār*, learning: *liornung* (*leornung*), learning; *snīpan*, to cut: *snæd* from **snādi*, morsel, slice: *snide*, incision; *wītega*, prophet: *wāt*, he knows: *witan*, to know, *wita*, wise man, *gewit*, intelligence.

bēodan, to command, order: *gebod*, command, precept, *bydel* from **budil*, messenger; *flēon*, to flee: *flēam*, flight; *flyht* from **fluhti*, flight; *nēotan*, to use: *genēat*, companion: *notu*, use, *nytt* (Germanic stem-form **nutja*), useful; *tēon*, to draw, lead: *tēam*, progeny: *here-toga*, army leader, general.

bindan, to bind: *bend* from **bandi*, band; *drincan*, to drink: *drenc* from **dranki*, drink: *druncen*, drunk; *sweltan*, to die: *swylt* from **swulti*, death; *weorpan* from **werpan*, to become: *wyrd* from **wurdi*, fate.

beran, to bear: *bær*, bier: *ge-byrd* from **gi-burdi*, birth, *byre* from **buri*, son; *cwelan*, to die: *cwalu*, killing; *stelan*, to steal: *stalu*, theft: *stulor*, stealthy.

giefan, to give, *gief* from **geþa*, giver, gift from **gefti*, price of wife: *gafol*, tribute; *cweþan*, to say: *cwide*, prim. Germanic **kweði*, speech; *sprecan*, to speak: *spræc*, speech.

calan, to be cold: *cōl*, cool; *faran*, to go, travel, *fierd*

from *fardi-, *army*: fōr, *journey*, gefēra, prim. Germanic *fōrjō, *companion*; stede from *stadi, *place*: stōd, *herd of horses*. See § 562.

Examples of ablaut relation in other than stem-syllables are:—

Goth. nom. pl. anstei-s, *favours*: gen. sing. anstái-s: acc. pl. ansti-ns; Goth. nom. pl. sunju-s from an original form *suneu-es, *sons*: gen. sing. sunáu-s: acc. pl. sunu-ns; Gr. φέρο-μεν, *we bear*: φέρε-τε, *ye bear* = Goth. baíra-m, baíri-þ.

§ 226. In this paragraph will be given the prim. Germanic and Gothic equivalents of the above six ablaut-series, with one or two illustrations from OE. For further examples see the various classes of strong verbs, §§ 490-510.

I.

Prim. Germ.	ī	ai	i	i
Gothic	ei	ái	i	i
OE.	bítan, <i>to bite</i>	bāt	biton	biten
	līpan, <i>to go</i>	lāþ	lidon	liden

NOTE.—Cp. the parallel Greek series πείθω: πέποιθα: ἔπιθον.

II.

Prim. Germ.	eu	au	u	o
Gothic	iu	áu	u	u
OE.	bēodan, <i>to offer</i>	bēad	budon	boden
	cēosan, <i>to choose</i>	cēas	curon	coren

NOTE.—Cp. the parallel Greek series ἐλεύ(θ)σομαι (fut.): εἰλήλουθα: ἤλυθον.

III.

Prim. Germ.	e, i	a	u	u, o
Gothic	i	a	u	u
OE.	helpan, <i>to help</i>	healp	hulpon	holpen
	weorþan, <i>to become</i>	wearþ	wurdon	worden
	bindan, <i>to bind</i>	band	bundon	bunden

NOTE.—I. To this series belong all strong verbs having a medial nasal or liquid + consonant, and a few others in which the vowel is followed by two consonants other than a nasal or liquid + consonant.

2. On the forms *healp*, *wearþ* see § 66, and on *weorþan* see § 85.

3. Cp. the parallel Greek series δέρκομαι : δέδορκα : ἔδρακον ; πέμπω : πέπομφα.

IV.

Prim. Germ.	e	a	ǣ	o
Gothic	i	a	ē	u
OE.	<i>beran, to bear</i>	<i>bær</i>	<i>bæron</i>	<i>boren</i>
	<i>stelan, to steal</i>	<i>stæl</i>	<i>stælon</i>	<i>stolen</i>

NOTE.—I. To this series belong all strong verbs whose stems end in a single liquid or nasal.

2. Cp. the parallel Greek series μένω : μονή : μί-μνω ; δέρω : δορά : δε-δαρ-μένος.

V.

Prim. Germ.	e	a	ǣ	e
Gothic	i	a	ē	i
OE.	<i>metan, to measure</i>	<i>mæt</i>	<i>mæton</i>	<i>meten</i>
	<i>cweþan, to say</i>	<i>cwæþ</i>	<i>cwædon</i>	<i>cweden</i>

NOTE.—I. To this class belong all strong verbs whose stems end in a single consonant other than a liquid or a nasal.

2. Cp. the parallel Greek series πέτομαι : πότης : ἐ-πτ-όμην ; τρέπω : τέ-τροφα : τραπεύει.

VI.

Prim. Germ.	a	ō	ō	a
Gothic	a	ō	ō	a
OE.	<i>faran, to go</i>	<i>fōr</i>	<i>fōron</i>	<i>færen, faren</i>

§ 227. Class VII of strong verbs embracing the old reduplicated verbs (§§ 511-19) has been omitted from the ablaut-series, because the exact relation in which the vowel of the present stands to that of the preterite has not yet

been satisfactorily explained. The old phases of ablaut have been preserved in the present and preterite of a few Gothic verbs, as *lētan*, *to let*, *laīlōt*, *laīlōtum*, *lētans*; *saian*, *to sow*, *saísō*, *saí-sō-um*, *saians*.

§ 228. The ablaut-series as given in § 226 have for practical reasons been limited to the phases of ablaut as they appear in the various classes of strong verbs. From an Indo-Germanic point of view, the series I-V belong to one and the same series, generally called the *e*-series, which underwent in primitive Germanic various modifications upon clearly defined lines. What is called the sixth ablaut-series in the Germanic languages is really a mixture of several original series, owing to several Indg. vowel-sounds having fallen together in prim. Germanic; thus the *a*, which occurs in the present and past participle, corresponds to three Indg. vowels, viz. *a* (§ 17), *o* (§ 20), and *ə* (§ 22); and the *ō* in the preterite corresponds to Indg. *ā* (§ 23), and Indg. *ō* (§ 26). For the phases of ablaut which do not occur in the various parts of strong verbs; and for traces of ablaut-series other than those given above, the student should consult Brugmann's *Kurze vergleichende Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen*, pp. 138-50.

CHAPTER VIII

THE FIRST SOUND-SHIFTING, VERNER'S LAW, AND OTHER CONSONANT CHANGES WHICH TOOK PLACE IN THE PRIMITIVE GERMANIC LANGUAGE

§ 229. The first sound-shifting, popularly called Grimm's Law, refers to the changes which the Indo-Germanic explosives underwent in the period of the Germanic primitive community, i. e. before the Germanic parent language became differentiated into the separate Germanic lan-

guages :—Gothic, O. Norse, O. English, O. Frisian, O. Saxon (= O. Low German), O. Low Franconian (O. Dutch), and O. High German.

The Indo-Germanic parent language had the following system of consonants :—

		LABIAL.	DENTAL.	PALATAL.	VELAR.
<i>Explosives</i>	tenues	p	t	k	q
	mediae	b	d	g	g
	tenues aspiratae	ph	th	kh	qh
	mediae aspiratae	bh	dh	gh	gh
<i>Spirants</i>	voiceless		s		
	voiced		z	j	
<i>Nasals</i>		m	n	ñ	ŋ
<i>Liquids</i>			l, r		
<i>Semivowels</i>		w (u)		j (i)	

NOTE.—I. Explosives are consonants which are formed with complete closure of the mouth passage, and may be pronounced with or without voice, i.e. with or without the vocal cords being set in action; in the former case they are said to be voiced (e.g. the mediae), and in the latter voiceless (e.g. the tenues). The aspirates are pronounced like the simple tenues and mediae followed by an h, like the Anglo-Irish pronunciation of t in *tell*.

The palatal explosives are formed by the front or middle of the tongue and the roof of the mouth (hard palate), like g, k (c) in English *get*, *good*, *kid*, *could*; whereas the velars are formed by the root of the tongue and the soft palate (velum). The latter do not occur in English, but are common in Hebrew, and are often heard in the Swiss pronunciation of German. In the parent Indo-Germanic language there were two kinds of velars, viz. pure velars and velars with lip rounding. The pure velars fell together with the Indg. palatals in Germanic, Latin, Greek, and Keltic, but were kept apart in the Aryan and Baltic-Slavonic languages. The velars with lip rounding appear in the Germanic languages partly with and partly without labialization, see § 237. The palatal and velar nasals only

occurred before their corresponding explosives, *ńk*, *ńg*; *ŋq*, *ŋg*, &c.

2. Spirants are consonants formed by the mouth passage being narrowed at one spot in such a manner that the outgoing breath gives rise to a frictional sound at the narrowed part.

z only occurred before voiced explosives, e. g. **nizdos* = Lat. *nīdus*, English *nest*; **ozdos* = Gr. *ὄζος*, Germ. *ast*, *bough*.

j was like the widely spread North German pronunciation of *j* in *ja*, not exactly like the *y* in English *yes*, which is generally pronounced without distinct friction. *j* occurred very rarely in the prim. Indo-Germanic language. In the Germanic, as in most other Indo-Germanic languages, the frictional element in this sound became reduced, which caused it to pass into the so-called semivowel.

3. The nasals and liquids had the functions both of vowels and consonants (§ 16).

4. The essential difference between the so-called semivowels and full vowels is that the latter always bear the stress (accent) of the syllable in which they occur, e. g. in English *ców*, *stáin* the first element of the diphthong is a vowel, the second a consonant; but in words like French *rwá* (written *roi*), *bjér* (written *bière*), the first element of the diphthong is a consonant, the second a vowel. In consequence of this twofold function, a diphthong may be defined as the combination of a sonantal with a consonantal vowel. And it is called a falling or rising diphthong according as the stress is upon the first or second element. In this book the second element of diphthongs is written *i*, *u* when the first element is the bearer of the stress, thus *ái*, *áu*, &c., but when the second element has the stress, the first element is written *j*, *w*, thus *já*, *wá*, &c.

5. In the writing down of prim. Germanic forms the signs *p* (= *th* in Engl. *thin*), *ṭ* (= *th* in Engl. *then*), *ṽ* (= a bilabial spirant, which may be pronounced like the *v* in Engl. *vine*), *ḡ* (= *g* often heard in German *sagen*), *χ* (= NHG. *ch* and the *ch* in Scotch *loch*).

§ 230. In the following tables of the normal equivalents of the Indg. explosives in Latin, Greek, and the Germanic languages, Table I contains the Indg. *tenues* *p*, *t*, *k*, the

mediae **b, d, g** and the pure velars **q, g**. Table II contains the Indg. mediae aspiratae and the velars **q, g** with labialization. The equivalents in the Germanic languages do not contain the changes caused by Verner's Law, &c. The East Franconian dialect is taken as the normal for OHG.

The following points should be noticed :—

(1) The Indg. *tenues* **p, t, k** and the mediae **b, d, g** generally remained unchanged in Latin and Greek.

(2) The pure velars (**q, g**) fell together with the palatals **k, g** in Latin and Greek. They became **χ, κ** in prim. Germanic, and thus fell together with the **χ, κ** from Indg. **k, g**.

(3) The pure velar **gh** fell together with the original palatal **gh** in Latin and Greek.

(4) The Indg. mediae aspiratae became in prehistoric Latin and Greek *tenues aspiratae*, and thus fell together with the original *tenues aspiratae*.

(5) The Indg. *tenues aspiratae* became voiceless spirants in prim. Germanic, and thus fell together with the voiceless spirants from the Indg. *tenues*. See § 233.

(6) In Latin Indg. **q** with labialization became **qu**, rarely **c**. **g** with labialization became **v** (but **gu** after **n**, and **g** when the labialized element had been lost, as *gravis* = Gr. *βαρύς*, *heavy*).

Indg. **ph, bh** became **f** initially and **b** medially.

Indg. **th, dh** became **f** initially, **b** medially before and after **r**, before **l** and after **u** (**w**), in other cases **d**.

Indg. **kh, gh** became **h** initially before and medially between vowels; **g** before and after consonants, and **f** before **u** (**w**).

Indg. **qh, gh** with labialization became **f** initially, **v** medially except that after **n** it became **gu**.

(7) In Greek Indg. **q, g** with labialization became **π, β**

before non-palatal vowels (except *u*) and before consonants (except Indg. *j*) ; *τ*, *δ* before palatal vowels ; and *κ*, *γ* before and after *u*.

Indg. *ph*, *bh* became *φ* ; *th*, *dh* became *θ* ; and *kh*, *gh* became *χ*.

Indg. *qh*, *gh* with labialization became *φ* before non-palatal vowels (except *u*) and before consonants (except Indg. *j*) ; *θ* before palatal vowels ; and *χ* before and after *u*.

(8) When two consecutive syllables would begin with aspirates, the first was de-aspirated in prehistoric times in Sanskrit and Greek, as Skr. *bándhanam*, *a binding*, Goth. OE. *bindan*, OHG. *bintan*, *to bind* ; Skr. *bódhati*, *he learns, is awake*, Gr. *πεύθεται*, *he asks, inquires*, Goth. *ana-biudan*, OE. *bēodan*, *to bid*, OHG. *biotan*, *to offer*, root *bheudh-* ; Gr. *καυθύλη*, *a swelling*, OE. *gund*, OHG. *gunt*, *matter, pus* ; Gr. *θρίξ*, *hair*, gen. *τρίχος* ; *ἔχω*, *I have*, fut. *ἔξω*.

(9) In OHG. the prim. Germanic explosives *p*, *t* became the affricatae *pf*, *tz* (generally written *zz*, *z*), initially, as also medially after consonants, and when doubled. But prim. Germanic *p*, *t*, *k* became the double spirants *ff*, *zz*, *hh* (also written *ch*) medially between vowels and finally after vowels. The double spirants were simplified to *f*, *z*, *h* when they became final or came to stand before other consonants, and also generally medially when preceded by a long vowel or diphthong.

TABLE I.

Indg.	Latin	Greek	P. Germanic	Gothic	OE.	OHG.
p	p	π	f	f	f	f
t	t	τ	þ	þ	þ	d
k, q	c	κ	χ	h, χ	h, χ	h, χ
b	b	β	p	p	p	pf, ff
d	d	δ	t	t	t	z, ʒz
g, ȝ	g	γ	k	k	c	k, hh

TABLE II.

Indg.	Latin	Greek	P. Germanic	Gothic	OE.	OHG.
q	qu, c	π, τ, κ	χw, χ	hw, h	hw, h	(h)w, h
g	v, gu, g	β, δ, γ	kw, k	q, k	cw, c	qu; k, hh
bh	f, b	φ	b, ƀ	b, ƀ	b, ƀ, (f)	b
dh	f, b, d	θ	d, ð	d, ð	d	t
gh	h, g, f	χ	g, ȝ	g, ȝ	g, ȝ	g
gh	f, v, gu	φ, θ, χ	ȝw, ȝ, w	ȝ, w	g, ȝ, w	g, w

§ 231. The Indg. *tenuēs* **p, t, k, q** became in prim. Germanic the voiceless spirants **f, þ, x, χ** (**χw**).

p > f. Lat. *pēs*, Gr. *πούς*, OE. OS. *fōt*, Goth. *fōtus*, O.Icel. *fōtr*, OHG. *fuoz*, *foot*; Lat. *piscis*, OE. *fisc*, Goth. *fisks*, O.Icel. *fiskr*, OS. OHG. *fisk*, *fish*; Gr. *πλωτός*, *floating, swimming*, OE. OS. *flōd*, Goth. *flōdus*, O.Icel. *flōð*, OHG. *fluot*, *flood, tide*; Lat. *pecu*, OE. *feoh*, Goth. *faíhu*, O.Icel. *fē*, OS. *fehu*, OHG. *fihu*, *cattle*; Lat. *nepos*, OE. *nefa*, O.Icel. *nefe*, OHG. *nefo*, *nephew*.

t > þ. Lat. *tu*, Gr. Doric *τύ*, OE. O.Icel. OS. *pū*, Goth. *þu*, OHG. *dū*, *thou*; Lat. *trēs*, Gr. *τρεῖς*, OE. OS. *þrī*, O.Icel. *þrīr*, OHG. *drī*, *three*; Lat. *tenuis*, OE. *þynne*, O.Icel. *þunnr*, OHG. *dunni*, *thin*; O.Lat. *tongēre*, *to know*, OE. *þencan*, Goth. *þagkjan*, OS. *þenkian*, OHG. *denchen*, *to think*; Lat. *frāter*, OE. *brōþor*, Goth. *brōþar*, O.Icel. *brōðer*, OS. *brōðar*, OHG. *bruoder*, *brother*; Lat. *vertō*, *I turn*, OE. *weorþan*, Goth. *waírþan*, O.Icel. *verða*, OS. *werðan*, OHG. *werdan*, *to become*.

k > χ. Lat. *canis*, Gr. *κύων*, OE. OS. *hund*, Goth. *hunds*, O.Icel. *hundr*, OHG. *hunt*, *hound, dog*; Lat. *cor* (gen. *cordis*), Gr. *καρδιά*, OE. *heorte*, Goth. *haírtō*, O.Icel. *hjarta*, OS. *herta*, OHG. *herza*, *heart*; Lat. *centum*, Gr. *ἑκατόν*, OE. Goth. OS. *hund*, OHG. *hunt*, *hundred*; Lat. *pecu*, OE. *feoh*, Goth. *faíhu*, O.Icel. *fē*, OS. *fehu*, OHG. *fihu*, *cattle*; Lat. *decem*, Gr. *δέκα*, OE. *tien* from **teohuni-*, older **texuni-* (cp. §§ 87, 447), Goth. *taíhun*, OS. *tehan*, OHG. *zehan*, *ten*; Lat. *dūcō*, *I lead*, OE. *tēon* from **tēohan*, older **teuxan* (§ 137), Goth. *tiuhan*, OS. *tiohan*, OHG. *ziohan*, *to draw, lead*.

q > χ (χw). Lat. *capiō*, *I take, seize*, OE. *hebban*, Goth. *hafjan*, O.Icel. *hefja*, OS. *hebbian*, OHG. *heffen*, *to raise*; Lat. *canō*, *I sing*, OE. *hana*, *hona*, Goth. *hana*, O.Icel. *hane*, OS. OHG. *hano*, *cock*, lit. *singer*; Lat. *vincō* (perf. *vīcī*), *I conquer*, Goth. *weihan*, OHG. *wīhan*, *to fight*.

Lat. *quis*, Gr. *τίς*, OE. *hwā*, Goth. *hwās*, OS. *hwē*, OHG.

hwēr, *who?*; Lat. *linquō*, Gr. *λείπω*, *I leave*, OE. *līon*, *lēon* from **līohan*, older **līxwan* (see §§ 127, 246), OS. OHG. *līhan*, *to lend*.

NOTE.—I. The Indg. *tenues* remained unshifted in the combination *s* + *tenuis*.

sp. Lat. *spuere*, OE. OS. OHG. *spīwan*, Goth. *speiwan*, *to vomit*, *spit*; Lat. *con-spiciō*, *I look at*, OHG. *spehōn*, *to spy*.

st. Gr. *στείχω*, *I go*, Lat. *vestigium*, *footstep*, OE. OS. OHG. *stīgan*, Goth. *steigan*, O.Icel. *stīga*, *to ascend*; Lat. *hostis*, *stranger*, *enemy*, OE. *giest*, Goth. *gasts*, O.Icel. *gestr*, OS. OHG. *gast*, *guest*.

sk. Gr. *σκιᾶ*, *shadow*, OE. OS. OHG. *scīnan*, Goth. *skeinan*, O.Icel. *skīna*, *to shine*; Lat. *piscis*, OE. *fisc*, Goth. *fisks*, O.Icel. *fiskr*, OS. OHG. *fisk*, *fish*.

sq. Gr. *θυο-σκόος*, *sacrificing priest*, OE. *scēawian*, Goth. **skaggwōn*, OS. *scauwōn*, OHG. *scouwōn*, *to look*, *view*.

2. The *t* also remained unshifted in the Indg. combinations *pt*, *kt*, *qt*.

pt > *ft*. Lat. *neptis*, OE. OHG. *nift*, *niece*, *granddaughter*; Lat. *captus*, *a taking*, *seizing*, OE. *hæft*, OHG. *haft*, *one seized or taken*, *a captive*.

kt > *xt*. Lat. *octō*, Gr. *ὀκτώ*, OE. *eahta*, Goth. *ahtáu*, OS. OHG. *ahto*, *eight*; Gr. *ῥεκτός*, *stretched out*, Lat. *rēctus*, OE. *riht*, Goth. *raihts*, OS. OHG. *reht*, *right*, *straight*.

qt > *xt*. Gen. sing. Lat. *noctis*, Gr. *νυκτός*, nom. OE. *neaht*, *niht*, Goth. *nahts*, OS. OHG. *naht*, *night*.

§ 232. The Indg. *mediae* *b*, *d*, *g*, *g* became the *tenues* *p*, *t*, *k*, *k* (*kw*).

b > *p*. Lithuanian *dubùs*, OE. *dēop*, Goth. *diups*, O.Icel. *djúpr*, OS. *diop*, OHG. *tiof*, *deep*; Lithuanian *trobà*, *house*, OE. *þorp*, OS. *thorp*, OHG. *dorf*, *village*, Goth. *paúrþ*, *field*; O. Bulgarian *slabŭ*, *slack*, *weak*, OE. *slāpan*, Goth. *slēpan*, OS. *slāpan*, OHG. *slāfan*, *to sleep*, originally, *to be slack*. *b* was a rare sound in the parent language.

d > *t*. Lat. *decem*, Gr. *δέκα*, OE. *tīen*, Goth. *taíhun*, O.Icel. *tío*, OS. *tehan*, OHG. *zehan*, *ten*; Lat. *dens* (gen. *dentis*), OE. *tōþ*, Goth. *tunþus*, OS. *tand*, OHG. *zand*, *tooth*;

Lat. *vidēre*, to see, OE. Goth. OS. *witan*, O.Icel. *vita*, OHG. *wizzan*, to know; Lat. *edō*, Gr. *ἔδω*, I eat, OE. OS. *etan*, Goth. *itan*, O.Icel. *eta*, OHG. *ezzan*, to eat; gen. Lat. *pedis*, Gr. *ποδός*, nom. OE. OS. *fōt*, Goth. *fōtus*, O.Icel. *fōtr*, OHG. *fuoz*, *foot*.

g > k. Lat. *genu*, Gr. *γόνυ*, OE. *cnēo*, Goth. *knīu*, O.Icel. *knē*, OS. OHG. *knio*, *knee*; Lat. *gustō*, I taste, Gr. *γεύω*, I let taste, OE. *cēosan*, Goth. *kīusan*, O.Icel. *kjōsa*, OS. OHG. *kiosan*, to test, choose; Lat. *ager*, Gr. *ἄγρός*, OE. *æcer*, Goth. *akrs*, O.Icel. *akr*, *field*, *acre*; Lat. *egō*, Gr. *ἐγώ*, OE. *ic*, Goth. OS. *ik*, O.Icel. *ek*, OHG. *ih*, I.

g > k (kw). Lat. *gelu*, *frost*, OE. *ceald*, Goth. *kalds*, O.Icel. *kaldr*, OS. *kald*, OHG. *kalt*, *cold*; Lat. *augēre*, Goth. *áukan*, O.Icel. *auka*, OS. *ōkian*, OHG. *ouhhōn*, to add, increase, OE. participial adj. *ēacen*, *great*; Lat. *jugum*, Gr. *ζυγόν*, OE. *geoc*, Goth. *juk*, OHG. *joh*, *yoke*.

Gr. *Βεοτιαν* *βαρά*, OE. *cwene*, Goth. *qinō*, OS. *quena*, *woman*, *wife*; Gr. *βίος* from **gīwos*, *life*, Lat. *vīvos* from **gwīwos*, OE. *cwicu*, Goth. *qius*, O.Icel. *kvikr*, OS. *quik*, OHG. *quec*, *quick*, *alive*; Lat. *veniō* from **gwemjō*, I come, Gr. *βαίνω* from **βajw*, older **βajw* = Indg. **gmjō*, I go, OE. OS. *cuman*, Goth. *qiman*, O.Icel. *koma*, OHG. *queman*, to come.

§ 233. The Indg. *tenues aspiratae* became voiceless spirants in prim. Germanic, and thus fell together with and underwent all further changes in common with the voiceless spirants which arose from the Indg. *tenues* (§ 231), the latter having also passed through the intermediate stage of *tenues aspiratae* before they became spirants. The *tenues aspiratae* were, however, of so rare occurrence in the prim. Indg. language that two or three examples must suffice for the purposes of this book; for further examples and details, the learner should consult Brugmann's *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen*, vol. I:—Skr. root *sphal-*, *run*

violently against, OE. *feallan*, O.Icel. *falla*, OS. OHG. *fallan*, *to fall*; Gr. ἀ-σκηθής, *unhurt*, OE. *sceþþan*, Goth. *skapjan*, OHG. *skadōn*, *to injure*; Gr. σχίζω, *I split*, OE. *scādan*, Goth. *skáidan*, OHG. *sceidan*, *to divide, separate*; Gr. φάλη, OE. *hwæl*, O.Icel. *hvalr*, OHG. (h)wal, *whale*.

§ 234. The Indg. mediae aspiratae probably became first of all the voiced spirants *þ*, *ð*, *z*, *z(w)*. These sounds underwent the following changes during the prim. Germanic period:—*þ*, *ð* initially, and *þ*, *ð*, *z* medially after their corresponding nasals, became the voiced explosives *b*, *d*, *g*, as

b. OE. OS. OHG. *beran*, Goth. *baíran*, O.Icel. *bera*, *to bear*, Skr. *bhárāmi*, Gr. φέρω, Lat. *ferō*, *I bear*; OE. OS. *bítan*, Goth. *beitan*, O.Icel. *bíta*, OHG. *bīzzan*, *to bite*, Skr. *bhédāmi*, Lat. *findō*, *I cleave*; OE. *brōþor*, Goth. *brōþar*, O.Icel. *brōðer*, OS. *brōðar*, OHG. *bruoder*, Skr. *bhrātar-*, Lat. *frāter*, *brother*, Gr. φράτηρ, *member of a clan*.

OE. *ymbe*, OS. OHG. *umbi*, Gr. ἀμφί, *around*; OE. *camb*, *comb*, O.Icel. *kambr*, OHG. *kamb*, *comb*, Skr. *jāmbhas*, *tooth*, Gr. γόμφος, *bolt, nail*, prim. form **gombhos*.

d. OE. *dæg*, Goth. *dags*, O.Icel. *dagr*, OS. *dag*, OHG. *tag*, *day*, Skr. *ni-dāghás*, older **ni-dhāghás*, *hot season, summer*, Indg. form **dhoghos*; OE. *dæd*, OS. *dād*, OHG. *tāt*, *deed*, related to Gr. θέσω, *I shall place*, Skr. *dhāma*, *law, dwelling-place*, root *dhē-*, *put, place*; OE. *dohtor*, Goth. *daúhtar*, OS. *dohter*, OHG. *tohter*, Gr. θυγάτηρ, *daughter*; OE. *duru*, OS. *duri*, OHG. *turi*, Gr. θύρα, *door*.

OE. Goth. OS. *bindan*, O.Icel. *binda*, OHG. *bintan*, *to bind*, Skr. *bāndhanam*, *a binding*, cp. πενθερός, *father-in-law*, Lat. *of-fendimentum*, *chin-cloth*, root *bhendh-*.

g. OE. *enge*, Goth. *aggwus*, OS. OHG. *engi*, *narrow*, cp. Lat. *angō*, Gr. ἄγγω, *I press tight*, root *aŋgh-*; OE. *lang*, *long*, Goth. *laggs*, O.Icel. *langr*, OS. OHG. *lang*, Lat. *longus*, *long*.

§ 235. *þ*, *ð*, *z* remained in other positions, and their further development belongs to the history of the separate

Germanic languages. In Goth. **þ**, **đ** (written **b**, **d**) remained medially after vowels, but became explosives (**b**, **d**) after consonants. They became **f**, **þ** finally after vowels and before final **-s**. **g** remained medially between vowels, and medially after vowels before voiced consonants, but became **x** (written **g**) finally after vowels and before final **-s**. It became **g** initially, and also medially after voiced consonants. In O.Icel. **þ** (written **f**) remained medially between and finally after voiced sounds, but became **f** before voiceless sounds. **đ** (written **ð**) generally remained medially and finally. **g** remained medially after vowels and liquids, but became **x** and then disappeared finally. It became **g** initially. **đ** became **d** in all the West Germanic languages and then **d** became **t** in OHG. In OS. **þ** (written **þ**, **b**) generally remained between voiced sounds. It became **f** medially before **l** and **n**, and before voiceless consonants, and also finally. **g** (written **g**) remained initially and medially, but became **x** finally, although it was generally written **g**. In OHG. **þ**, **g** became **b**, **g**. On the history of **þ**, **g** in OE. see §§ 293-4, 313-24. Geminated **þþ**, **đđ**, **gg**, of whatever origin, became **bb**, **dd**, **gg** in the prehistoric period of all the Germanic languages. Examples are:—Goth. **nibls*, OS. *neþal*, OHG. *nebul*, Lat. *nebula*, Gr. *νεφέλη*, *mist, cloud*, cp. Skr. *nábhas*, Gr. *νέφος*, *cloud*; OE. *lēof*, Goth. *liufs*, O.Icel. *ljūfr*, OS. *liof*, OHG. *liob*, *dear*, original form **leubhos*, cp. Skr. *lúbhyāmi*, *I feel a strong desire*, Lat. *lubet (libet)*, *it pleases*; OE. OS. *ūder*, OHG. *ūter*, Skr. *ūdhar*, Gr. *οὔθαρ*, *udder*; OE. *rēad*, Goth. *ráuþs*, O.Icel. *rauðr*, OS. *rōd*, OHG. *rōt*, prim. form **roudhos*, cp. Skr. *rudhirás*, Gr. *ἐρυθρός*, prim. form **rudhros*, *red*; OE. Goth. *guma*, O.Icel. *gume*, OS. OHG. *gumo*, Lat. *homō*, prim. stem-form **ghomon-*, *man*; OE. *gōs*, O.Icel. *gās*, OHG. *gans*, Gr. *χίην*, *goose*; OE. OS. OHG. *wegan*, Goth. *ga-wigan*, O.Icel. *vega*, *to move, carry*, Lat. *vehō*, prim. form **weghō*, *I carry*; OE.

giest, Goth. gasts, O.Icel. gestr, OS. OHG. gast, *guest*, Lat. *hostis*, *stranger*, *enemy*, prim. form *ghostis; OE. OS. OHG. stigan, Goth. steigan, O.Icel. stiga, *to ascend*, Gr. στεῖχω, prim. form *steighō, *I go*, cp. Lat. *vestigium*, *footstep*.

§ 236. Various theories have been propounded as to the chronological order in which the Indg. *tenues*, *tenues aspiratae*, *mediae*, and *mediae aspiratae*, were changed by the first sound-shifting in prim. Germanic. But not one of these theories is satisfactory. Only so much is certain that at the time when the Indg. *mediae* became *tenues*, the Indg. *tenues* must have been on the way to becoming voiceless spirants, otherwise the two sets of sounds would have fallen together.

§ 237. We have already seen (§ 230) that the parent Indg. language contained two series of velars: (1) pure velars which never had labialization. These velars fell together with the palatals in the Germanic, Latin, Greek, and Keltic languages, but were kept apart in the Aryan and Baltic-Slavonic languages. (2) Velars with labialization. These velars appear in the Germanic languages partly with and partly without labialization; in the latter case they fell together with prim. Germanic *χ*, *k*, *g* which arose from Indg. *k*, *g*, *gh*. The most commonly accepted theory is that the Indg. labialized velars *q*, *g*, *gh* regularly became *χ*, *k*, *g* in prim. Germanic before Indg. *ū*, *ō*, *o* (= Germanic *a*, § 20), and *χw*, *kw*, *gw* before Indg. *ē*, *ī*, *ə*, *a*, *ā* (= Germanic *ō*, § 23); and that then the law became greatly obscured during the prim. Germanic period through form-transference and levelling out in various directions, as Goth. *qam*, OHG. *quam*, prim. form **goma*, *I came*, for Goth. OHG. **kam* after the analogy of Goth. *qima*, OHG. *quimu*, original form **gemō*, *I come*; Goth. *lwas*, *who?*, Indg. **qos* for **has* after the analogy of the gen. *lvis* = Indg. **qeso*, &c.

NOTE.—In several words the Indg. velars, when preceded or followed by a w or another labial in the same word, appear in the Germanic languages as labials by assimilation. The most important examples are:—OE. OS. *wulf*, Goth. *wulfs*, OHG. *wolf* = Gr. *λύκος*, for **flúkos*, prim. form **wlqos*, cp. Skr. *v́fkaś*, *wolf*; OE. *fēower* (but *fyper-fēte*, *four-footed*), Goth. *fidwōr*, OS. OHG. *fior*, prim. form **qetwóres*, cp. Lithuanian *keturi*, Lat. *quattuor*, Gr. *τέσσαρες*, Skr. *catvāras*, *four*; OE. OS. *fif*, Goth. *fimf*, OHG. *finf*, prim. form **penqe*, cp. Skr. *pánca*, Gr. *πέντε*, Lat. *quínque* (for **pínque*), *five*; OE. *weorpan*, Goth. *waírpan*, O.Icel. *verpa*, OS. *werpan*, OHG. *werfan*, *to throw*, cp. O. Bulgarian *vrǐga*, *I throw*; OE. *swāpan*, OHG. *sweifan*, *to swing*, cp. Lithuanian *swaikstù*, *I become dizzy*.

VERNER'S LAW.

§ 238. After the completion of the first sound-shifting, and while the principal accent was not yet confined to the root-syllable, a uniform interchange took place between the voiceless and voiced spirants, which may be thus stated:—

The medial or final spirants *f*, *þ*, *x*, *χw*, *s* regularly became *b*, *d*, *g*, *gw*, *z* when the vowel next preceding them did not, according to the original Indg. system of accentuation, bear the principal accent of the word.

The *b*, *d*, *g*, *gw* which thus arose from Indg. *p*, *t*, *k*, *q* underwent in the Germanic languages all further changes in common with the *b*, *d*, *g*, *gw* from Indg. *bh*, *dh*, *gh*, *gh*.

Verner's law manifests itself most clearly in the various parts of strong verbs, where the infinitive, present participle, present tense, and preterite (properly perfect) singular had the principal accent on the root-syllable, but the indicative pret. plural, the pret. subjunctive (properly optative), and past participle had the principal accent on the ending, as prim. Germanic **wérþō* > OE. *weorþe*, *I become* = Skr. *vártā-mi*, *I turn*; pret. indic. 3. sing. **wárþi* > OE. *wearþ*, *he became* = Skr. *va-várta*, *has turned*; pret. 1. pers. pl. **wurðumí* > OE. **wurðum* (*wurdon* is the 3. pers. pl. used for all persons) = Skr. *va-vrtimá*, *we have*

turned; past participle *wurdanā- > OE. *worden* = Skr. *va-vrtānā-*; OS. *birid*, OHG. *birit* = Skr. *bhāratī*, *he bears*; Goth. 2. sing. indic. passive *baíraza* = Skr. *bhārasē*; Goth. *baírand*, OHG. *berant* = Skr. *bhāranti*, *they bear*; present participle OE. *berende*, Goth. *baírand*s, O.Icel. *berande*, OS. *berandi*, OHG. *beranti*, Gr. gen. *φέρωντος*. Or to take examples from noun-forms, &c., we have e. g. Skr. *pitār-*, Gr. *πατέρ-* = prim. Germanic *faðér-, OE. *fæder*, Goth. *fadar*, O.Icel. *faðer*, OS. *fader*, OHG. *fater*, *father*; Gr. *πλωτός*, *floating, swimming*, OE. OS. *flōd*, Goth. *flōdus*, O.Icel. *flōð*, OHG. *fluot*, *flood, tide*; Skr. *ṣatām*, Gr. *ἑκατόν*, Lat. *centum* = prim. Germanic *χundóm, older *χumðóm, OE. Goth. OS. *hund*, OHG. *hunt*, *hundred*; Indg. *swékuros, Goth. *swaíhra*, OHG. *swehur*, OE. *swēor* (§ 329), *father-in-law*, beside Gr. *ἐκυρά*, OE. *sweger*, OHG. *swigar*, *mother-in-law*; Gr. *δέκα*, Goth. *taíhun*, OS. *tehan*, OHG. *zehan*, *ten*, beside Gr. *δεκάς*, OE. OS. *-tig*, OHG. *-zug*, Goth. pl. *tigjus*, *decade*; Skr. *saptá*, Gr. *ἑπτά*, OE. *seofon*, Goth. *sibun*, OS. *sibun*, OHG. *sibun*, *seven*; Gr. *νυός* from **συνυός*, OE. *snoru*, OHG. *snura*, *daughter-in-law*; OHG. *haso* beside OE. *hara*, *hare*; Goth. *áusō* beside OE. *ēare*, *ear*.

The combinations *sp*, *st*, *sk*, *ss*, *ft*, *fs*, *hs*, and *ht* were not subject to this law.

NOTE.—The prim. Germanic system of accentuation was like that of Sanskrit, Greek, &c., i. e. the principal accent could fall on any syllable; it was not until a later period of the prim. Germanic language that the principal accent was confined to the root-syllable. See § 9.

§ 239. From what has been said above it follows that the interchanging pairs of consonants due to Verner's law were in prim. Germanic: *f—b*, *p—d*, *s—z*, *χ—g*, *χw—gw*. They underwent various changes partly in prim. Germanic, partly in West Germanic, and partly in Old English. Already in prim. Germanic *gw* became *g* before *u*, but

w in other cases (§ 241); and ηg became ηg . In West Germanic \mathfrak{d} became d (§ 253); z became r medially and was dropped finally (§ 252); χw became χ (§ 246). In OE. the two sounds f — \mathfrak{f} fell together in \mathfrak{f} (written f) medially, and in f finally, see §§ 293-4, 296; χ disappeared between vowels (§ 329), when preserved it was written h ; and \mathfrak{p} , s became voiced between vowels, although the \mathfrak{p} , s were preserved in writing. So that for OE. we have the following interchanging pairs of consonants:—

\mathfrak{p} — d

s — r

h or loss of h (= prim. Germ. χ)— g (§ 320)

h or loss of h (= prim. Germ. χw)— g , w (= prim.

Germ. gw)

h or loss of h (= prim. Germ. $\eta\chi$, § 245)— ng .

\mathfrak{p} — d . *cweþan*, to say, *līþan*, to go, *snīþan*, to cut; pret. sing. *cwæþ*, *lāþ*, *snāþ*; pret. pl. *cwædon*, *lidon*, *snidon*; pp. *cweden*, *liden*, *sniden*; *cwide*, saying, proverb; *snide*, incision; *dēaþ*, death, beside *dēad*, dead.

s — r . *cēosan*, to choose, *drēosan*, to fall, *forlēosan*, to lose; pret. sing. *cēas*, *drēas*, *forlēas*; pret. pl. *curon*, *druron*, *forluron*; pp. *coren*, *droren*, *forloren*; *cyre*, choice; *dryre*, fall; *lyre*, loss.

h — g . *fīēon* (OHG. *flīohan*), to flee, *slēan* (Goth. *slahan*), to strike, slay, *tēon* (Goth. *tiuhan*), to draw, lead; pret. sing. *fīeah*, *tēah*; pret. pl. *flugon*, *slōgon*, *tugon*; pp. *flogen*, *slāgen*, *togen*; *slaga*, homicide; *slege*, stroke, blow; *here-toga*, leader of an army, duke.

h — g , w . *sēon* (Goth. *saiþvan*), to see; pret. sing. *seah*; pret. pl. WS. *sāwon*, Anglian *sēgon*; pp. WS. *sewen*, Anglian *segen*; *sīon*, *sēon* (Goth. **seihvan*, OHG. *sīhan*), to strain; pret. sing. *sāh*; pp. *siwen*, *sigen*; *horh*, dirt, gen. *horwes*. See Note 1 below.

h — ng . *fōn* (Goth. *fāhan*, prim. Germ. **fanþanan*, § 245), to seize, *hōn* (Goth. *hāhan*, prim. Germ. **hanþanan*),

to *hang*; pret. pl. *fēngon*, *hēngon*; pp. *fangen*, *hangen*; *feng*, *grasp*, *booty*; *hangian*, to *hang*; *þion*, *þēon* (Goth. *þeihon*, prim. Germ. *þinḡanan*), to *thrive*; pret. pl. *þungon*; pp. *þungen*; the usual pret. pl. *þigon*, pp. *þigen*, were new formations, see § 492.

NOTE.—I. The results of the operation of Verner's law were often disturbed in OE. through the influence of analogy and levelling, e.g. the *þ*, *s* of the present and pret. singular were extended to the pret. plural and pp. in *ābrēopan*, to *fail*; *mīpan*, to *avoid*; *wriþan*, to *twist*; *ārisan*, to *arise*; *genesan*, to *recover*; *lesan*, to *collect*; pret. pl. *ābrūpon*, *mīpon*, *wriþon*, *ārison*, *genāson*, *lāson*; pp. *ābroþen*, *mīpen*, *wriþen*, *ārisen*, *genesen*, *lesen*. The *g* of the pret. plural was levelled out into the singular in *flōg*, *he flayed*; *hlōg*, *he laughed*; *lōg*, *he blamed*; *slōg*, *he slew*; *þwōg*, *he washed*, see § 509. The *nd* of the pret. plural and pp. was extended to the present and pret. singular in *findan*, pret. sing. *fand*. The regular forms of this verb would be **fīpan* (= Goth. *finþan*, OS. *fīþan*), to *find*; pret. sing. **fōp* (see § 61), pret. pl. *fundon*, pp. *funden*. The WS. pret. pl. *sāwon*, *they saw*, had its *w* from the pp. *sewen*, and conversely the Anglian pp. *segen*, *seen*, had its *g* from the pret. plural *sēgon*, see § 241.

2. Causative verbs had originally suffix accentuation, and therefore also exhibit the change of consonants given above, as *weorþan*, to *become*: *ā-wierdan*, to *destroy*, *injure*, cp. Skr. *vārtāmi*, *I turn*: *vartáyāmi*, *I cause to turn*; *līpan*, to *go*: *lādan*, to *lead*; *ā-rīsan*, to *arise*: *rāran*, to *raise*; *genesan*, to *recover*: *nerian*, to *save*.

OTHER CONSONANT CHANGES.

§ 240. Most of the sound changes comprised under this paragraph might have been disposed of in the paragraphs dealing with the shifting of the Indg. mediae and mediae aspiratae, but to prevent any possible misunderstanding or confusion, it was thought advisable to reserve them for a special paragraph.

The Indg. mediae and mediae aspiratae became tenues

before a suffixal **t** or **s** already in the pre-Germanic period:—

bt	} pt	bs	} ps
bht		bhs	
dt	} tt	ds	} ts
dht		dhs	
gt	} kt	gs	} ks
ght		ghs	
qt	} qt	qs	} qs
ght		ghs	

Examples are: Lat. *nūptum*, *nūpsī*, beside *nūbere*, *to marry*; Skr. loc. pl. *patsú*, beside loc. sing. *padí*, *on foot*; Lat. *rēxī*, *rectum*, beside *regere*, *to rule*; Lat. *vēxī*, *vectum*, beside *vehere*, *to carry*, root *wegh-*; Lat. *lectus*, Gr. *λέχος*, *bed*, OE. *licgan*, Goth. *ligan*, *to lie down*; Skr. *yuktá*, Gr. *ζευκτός*, Lat. *jūctus*, *yoked*, root *jeug-*, cp. Skr. *yugám*, Gr. *ζυγόν*, Lat. *jugum*, OE. *geoc*, Goth. *juk*, *yoke*; &c.

Then **pt**, **kt**, **qt**; **ps**, **ks**, **qs** were shifted to **ft**, **xt**; **fs**, **xs** at the same time as the original Indg. *tenuēs* became voiceless spirants (§ 231). And **tt**, **ts** became **ss** through the intermediate stage of **pt**, **ps** respectively. **ss** then became simplified to **s** after long syllables and before **r**, and then between the **s** and **r** there was developed a **t**.

This explains the frequent interchange between **p**, **b** (**b**), and **f**; between **k**, **g** (**g**), and **h** (i. e. **χ**); and between **t**, **p**, **đ** (**d**), and **ss**, **s** in forms which are etymologically related.

p, **b** (**b**)—**f**. OE. *scieppan*, Goth. *skapjan*, *to create*, beside OE. *ge-sceaft*, OHG. *gi-skafft*, *creature*, Goth. *ga-skafsts*, *creation*; Goth. *giban*, OHG. *geban*, *to give*, beside Goth. *fra-gifts*, *a giving, espousal*, OE. OHG. *gift*, *gift*; OHG. *weban*, *to weave*, beside English *weft*.

k, **g** (**g**)—**h**. OE. *wyrcan*, Goth. *waúrkjan*, OHG. *wurken*, *to work*, beside pret. and pp. OE. *worhte*, *worht*,

Goth. *waúrhta*, *waúrhts*, OHG. *worhta*, *giworht*; OE. *þyncan*, Goth. *þugkjan*, OHG. *dunken*, beside pret. and pp. OE. *þūhte*, *þūht*, Goth. *þūhta*, **þūhts*, OHG. *dūhta*, *gidūht*; OE. *magon*, Goth. **magun*, OHG. *magun*, *they may, can*, beside pret. OE. *meahta*, Goth. OHG. *mahta*, pp. Goth. *mahts*, cp. also OE. *meaht*, Goth. *mahts*, OHG. *maht*, *might, power*; OE. *bycgan*, Goth. *bugjan*, *to buy*, beside pret. and pp. OE. *bohte*, *boht*, Goth. *baúhta*, *baúhts*; OE. OHG. *bringan*, Goth. *briggan*, *to bring*, pret. and pp. OE. *brōhte*, *brōht*, OHG. *brāhta*, *gibrāht*, Goth. *brāhta*, **brāhts*.

t, þ, ð (d)—*ss*, *s*. OE. Goth. OS. *witan*, O.Icel. *vita*, beside pret. OE. *wisse*, Goth. OS. OHG. *wissa*, O.Icel. *vissa*, participial adj. OE. *gewiss*, O.Icel. *viss*, OS. *wis(s)*, OHG. *giwis(s)*, *sure, certain*; OE. *sittan*, O.Icel. *sitja*, OS. *sittian*, *to sit*, beside OE. O.Icel. OS. *sess*, *seat*; OE. *cwepan*, Goth. *qīpan*, *to say*, beside Goth. *ga-qiss*, *consent*; Goth. *ana-biudan*, *to command*, beside *ana-busns*, *commandment*, pre-Germanic **bhūtsni-*, root *bheudh-*.

ss became *s* after long syllables and before *r*: OE. *hātan*, Goth. *háitan*, *to call*, beside OE. *hæs* from **haissi-*, *command*; OE. Goth. OS. *witan*, *to know*, beside OE. OS. OHG. *wīs*, *wise*, Goth. *unweis*, *unknowing*; OE. *etan*, Goth. *itan*, *to eat*, beside OE. *ǣs*, OHG. *ās*, *carriage*. OE. *fōstor*, *food, sustenance*, cp. OE. *fēdan*, Goth. *fōdjan*, *to feed*; Goth. *gup-blōstreis*, *worshipper of God*, OHG. *bluo-ster*, *sacrifice*, cp. Goth. *blōtan*, *to worship*.

Instead of *ss* (*s*) we often meet with *st*. In such cases the *st* is due to the analogy of forms where *t* was quite regular, e.g. regular forms were Goth. *last*, *thou didst gather*, inf. *lisan*; Goth. *slōht*, *thou didst strike*, inf. *slahan*; OE. *meaht*, OHG. *maht*, *thou canst*, inf. *magan*; then after the analogy of such forms were made OE. *wāst* for **wās*, Goth. *wāist* for **wáis*, OHG. *weist* for **weis*, *thou knowest*; OE. *mōst* for **mōs*, *thou art allowed*; regular

forms were pret. sing. OE. *worhte*, Goth. *waúrhta*, OHG. *worhta*, beside inf. OE. *wyrcan*, Goth. *waúrkjan*, OHG. *wurken*, to work; then after the analogy of such forms were made OE. *wiste* beside *wisse*, OHG. *wista* beside *wissa*, *I knew*; OE. *mōste* for **mōse* (= OHG. *muosa*), *I was allowed*.

For purely practical purposes the above laws may be thus formulated:—every labial + *t* became *ft*; every guttural + *t* became *ht*; and every dental + *t* became *ss*, *s* (st).

§ 241. Prim. Germanic *Ʒw*, which arose from Indg. *ǵh* (§ 237) and from Indg. *q* (§ 238) by Verner's law, became *Ʒ* before *u*, in other cases it became *w*, as Goth. *magus*, *boy*, beside *mawi* from **ma(g)wí*, *girl*; pret. pl. Anglian *sēgon* from **sāg(w)un*, *they saw*, beside pp. *sewen* from **se(g)wenós*; OE. *sīen* (*sīon*, *sēon*, cp. § 138), Goth. *siuns*, from **se(g)wnís*, *a seeing, face*; OE. *snāw* (with *-w* from the oblique cases), Goth. *snáiws*, from **snai(g)waz*, prim. form **snóighos*, *snow*; OE. OHG. *snīwan* for **snīgan*, formed from the third pers. sing. OE. *snīweþ*, OHG. *snīwit*, *it snows*. See § 239, Note 1, § 249.

§ 242. Assimilation:—*-nw-* > *-nn-*, as OE. Goth. OHG. *rinnan* from **rinwan*, *to run*; OE. *cinn*, Goth. *kinnus*, OHG. *kinni*, from **genw-*, Gr. *γένυ-ς*, *chin, cheek*; Goth. *minniza*, OS. *minnira*, OHG. *minniro*, from **minwizō*, *less*, cp. Lat. *minuō*, Gr. *μνύθω*, *I lessen*; OE. *þynne*, O.Icel. *þunnr*, OHG. *dunni*, *thin*, cp. Skr. fem. *tanvī*, *thin*. *-md-* > *-nd-*, as OE. Goth. OS. *hund*, OHG. *hunt*, prim. form **kmtóm*, *hundred*; OE. *scamian*, Goth. *skaman*, OHG. *scamēn*, *to be ashamed*, beside OE. *scand*, Goth. *skanda*, OHG. *scanta*, *shame, disgrace*.

-ln- > *-ll-*, as OE. *full*, Goth. *fulls*, Lithuanian *pilnas*, prim. form **plnós*, *full*; OE. *wulle*, Goth. *wulla*, OHG. *wolla*, Lithuanian *wilna*, *wool*.

§ 243. Prim. Germanic *bn*, *dn*, *gn* = Indg. *pn'*, *tn'*, *kn'*, *qn'* (by Verner's law), and *bhn'*, *dhn'*, *ghn'*, *ghn'*, became

bb, dd, gg before the principal accent, then later **bb, dd, gg**; and in like manner Indg. **bn^l, dn^l, gn^l** became **bb, dd, gg**. And these mediae were shifted to **pp, tt, kk** at the same time as the original Indg. mediae became *tenues* (§ 232). These geminated consonants were simplified to **p, t, k** after long syllables. Examples are: OE. **hnæpp**, OHG. **napf**, from ***χnaβn^l** or **χnabn^l**, *basin, bowl*; OE. **hoppian**, O.Icel. **hoppa**, MHG. **hopfen**, from ***χoβn^l**, *to hop*; OE. OS. **topp**, O.Icel. **toppr**, from ***toβn^l** or **tobn^l**, *top, summit*; OE. **hēap**, OS. **hōp**, OHG. **houf**, from ***χauβn^l**; OE. **cnotta**, from ***knoδn^l**, beside OHG. **chnodo, chnoto, knot**; OE. OS. **hwīt**, Goth. **lveits**, from ***χwiδn^l**, *white*; OE. **bucc**, O.Icel. **bokkr**, OHG. **boc** (gen. **bockes**), prim. form ***bhugnós**, *buck*; OE. **liccian**, OS. **leccōn**, OHG. **lecchōn**, from ***lezn^l**, *to lick*; OE. **locc**, O.Icel. **lokkr**, prim. form ***lugnós**, *lock*; OE. **smocc**, O.Icel. **smokkr**, from **smogn^l**, *smock*; OE. **lōcian**, OS. **lōkōn**, from **lōgn^l** or **lōzn^l**, *to look*.

§ 244. Indg. **z** + media became **s** + *tenuis*, as Goth. **asts**, OHG. **ast** = Gr. **ἄστος**, from ***ozdos**, *branch, twig*; OE. **nest**, Lat. **nīdus**, from ***ni-zdos**, *nest*, related to root **sed-**, *sit*; OE. **masc**, OHG. **masca**, *mesh, net*, cp. Lithuanian **mezgū**, *I tie in knots*.

Indg. **z** + media aspirata became **z** + voiced spirant, as OE. **meord**, Goth. **mizdō**, *pay, reward*, cp. O. Bulgarian **mīzda**, Gr. **μισθός**, *pay*; OE. **mearg**, OHG. **marg**, O. Bulgarian **mozgū**, *marrow*, root **mezgh-**; OE. **hord**, Goth. **huzd**, OHG. **hort**, *hoard, treasure*, root **kuzdh-**.

§ 245. Guttural **n** (ŋ) disappeared before **χ**, as Goth. OS. OHG. **fāhan**, OE. **fōn**, from ***faŋxanan**, *to seize*; Goth. OS. OHG. **hāhan**, OE. **hōn**, from ***χαŋxanan**, *to hang*; Goth. **þeihan**, OS. **thīhan**, OHG. **dīhan**, OE. **þion, pēon**, from ***piŋxanan**, *to thrive*; pret. OE. **þōhte**, Goth. **pāhta**, OS. **thāhta**, OHG. **dāhta**, from ***paŋxtō**, *I thought*, beside inf. OE. **þencan**. See §§ 40-1.

of forms which regularly had *w*, e. g. pret. pl. *swummon*, *swungon*, *swullon*, pp. *swummen*, *swungen* (beside regular form *sungen*), *swollen*, beside inf. *swimman*, to *swim*, *swingan*, to *swing*, *swellan*, to *swell*. For levelling out in the opposite direction, cp. OE. OS. OHG. *singan*, beside Goth. *siggwan* (regular form), to *sing*; OE. *sin-can*, OS. OHG. *sinkan*, beside Goth. *sigqan*, to *sink*. Cp. § 241.

§ 250. Initial and medial *sr* became *str*, as OE. *strēam*, O. Icel. *straumr*, OS. OHG. *strōm*, *stream*, cp. Skr. *srāvati*, it flows; pl. OE. *ēastron*, OHG. *ōstarūn*, *Easter*, cp. Skr. *usrā*, dawn; OE. *sweostor*, Goth. *swistar*, OHG. *swester*, sister, with *t* from the weak stem-form, as in the locative singular Goth. *swistr* = prim. Germanic **swesri* = Skr. dat. *svāsrē*.

§ 251. The remaining Indg. consonants suffered no further material changes which need be mentioned here. Summing up the results of §§ 231-50, we arrive at the following system of consonants for the close of the prim. Germanic period:—

		INTER-		PALATAL AND
		LABIAL.	DENTAL.	DENTAL. GUTTURAL.
<i>Explosives</i>	{ voiceless	p		t k
	{ voiced	b		d g
<i>Spirants</i>	{ voiceless	f	þ	s x
	{ voiced	β	ð	z ʒ
<i>Nasals</i>		m		n ŋ
<i>Liquids</i>				l, r
<i>Semivowels</i>		w		j (palatal)

To these must be added the aspirate *h*.

CHAPTER IX

SPECIAL WEST GERMANIC MODIFICATIONS
OF THE GENERAL GERMANIC CONSO-
NANT-SYSTEM

§ 252. Prim. Germanic *z*, which arose from *s* (§ 238), became *r* medially, and was dropped finally, as OE. *māra*, OHG. *mēro* = Goth. *máiza*, *greater*; pp. OE. *coren*, OHG. *gikoran*, beside inf. OE. *cēosan*, OHG. *kiosan*, *to choose*; OE. *herian*, Goth. *hazjan*, *to praise*; and similarly *hīeran*, *to hear*, *lāeran*, *to teach*; *leornian* from **liznōjan*, *to learn*; *nerian*, *to save*; OE. *bet(e)ra*, OS. *betera*, OHG. *bezziro*, Goth. *batiza*, *better*; OE. OS. *hord*, OHG. *hort*, Goth. *huzd*, *hoard, treasure*; OE. *dēor*, OS. *dior*, OHG. *tior*, Goth. *dius* (gen. *diuzis*), prim. Germanic **deuzan*, from an original form **dheusóm*, *deer, wild animal*; OE. *dæg*, OS. *dag*, OHG. *tag* = Goth. *dags*, from **dagaz*, *day*; OE. *giest*, OS. OHG. *gast* = Goth. *gasts*, from **gastiz*, *guest*; OE. OS. OHG. *sunu* = Goth. *sunus*, from **sunuz*, *son*; pl. OE. *giefa*, OS. *geþa*, OHG. *gebā* = Goth. *gibōs*, from **gebōz*, *gifts*; OE. *guman* = Goth. *gumans*, from **gomaniz*, cp. Lat. *homines*, *men*; OE. *men(n)* = Goth. *mans*, from **maniz*, *men*; adv. OE. OS. *bet*, O.Icel. *betr*, from **batiz*, *better*; OE. OS. *leng*, O.Icel. *lengr*, from **laŋgiz*, *longer*. The following OE. pronouns are developed from original unstressed forms where *-s* became *-z* and then disappeared, whereas in OHG. the *-z* became *-r* in these words: *gē*, OS. *gī*, Goth. *jus*, *ye*; *hwā*, OS. *hwē*, OHG. *hwer*, Goth. *hwas*, *who?*; dat. *mē*, OS. *mī*, OHG. *mir*, Goth. *mis*, *me*; dat. *pē*, OS. *thī*, OHG. *dir*, Goth. *þus*, *thee*; *wē*, OS. *wī*, OHG. *wir*, Goth. *weis*, *we*. It is difficult to account for the loss of

the final consonant in the OE. adv. *mā*, Goth. *máis*, from **maisiz*, *more*.

§ 253. Prim. Germanic *đ* (§§ 234, 238) became *d*, which was shifted to *t* in OHG., as OE. *bēodan*, OS. *biodan*, OHG. *biotan*, *to offer*; OE. *fæder*, OS. *fadar*, OHG. *fater*, *father*; OE. *mōdor*, OS. *mōdar*, OHG. *muoter*, *mother*; OE. *healdan*, OS. *haldan*, OHG. *haltan*, *to hold*; pp. OE. *worden*, OS. *wordan*, OHG. *wortan*, *beside inf.* OE. *weorþan*, *to become*; OE. OS. *god*, OHG. *got*, *God*; OE. OS. *word*, OHG. *wort*, *word*.

§ 254. All single consonants, except *r*, were doubled after a short vowel before a following *j*. This *j* was mostly retained in Old Saxon, but was generally dropped in OE. and OHG. *bj*, *đj*, *gj* became *bb*, *dd*, *gg* (generally written *cg* in OE.). Examples are: OE. *hliehhan*, OS. **hlahhian*, OHG. *hlahhen* = Goth. *hlahjan*, *to laugh*; OE. *lecgan*, OS. *leggian*, OHG. *leggen* = Goth. *lagjan*, *to lay*; OE. *settan*, OS. *settian*, OHG. *setzen* = Goth. *satjan*, *to set*; OE. *scieppan*, OS. *skeppian*, OHG. *skephen* = Goth. *skapjan*, *to create*; and similarly OE. *biddan*, *to pray*; *fremman*, *to perform*; *licgan*, *to lie down*; *sceþþan*, *to injure*; *sellan*, *to sell, give*; *sittan*, *to sit*; *swebban*, *to lull to sleep*; *pennan*, *to stretch*; *þrida* (Goth. *þridja*), *third*; *hell* (Goth. *halja*), *hell*; *sibb* (Goth. *sibja*), *relationship*; *gen. cynnes* (Goth. *kunjis*), *of a race, generation*; and similarly *brycg*, *bridge*; *cribb*, *crib, stall*; *crycc*, *crutch*; *henn*, *hen*. But OE. OS. *nerian*, OHG. *nerien* = Goth. *nasjan*, *to save*; OE. *herian* = Goth. *hazjan*, *to praise*. For examples of West Germanic *ww* from *wj*, see § 90.

NOTE.—1. The *j* in the combination *ji* had disappeared before the West Germanic doubling of consonants took place, e. g. in the 2. and 3. pers. sing. of the pres. indicative, as OE. *legest*, *legeþ*, OS. *legis*, *legid*, OHG. *legis*, *legit* = Goth. *lagjis*, *lagjip*, *beside inf.* OE. *lecgan*, OS. *leggian*, OHG. *leggen*, Goth. *lagjan*, *to lay*.

2. The sing. nom. and acc. of neuter nouns like *bedd* (Goth. nom. *badi*, gen. *badjis*), *bed*, *cynn* (Goth. *kuni*), *race*, *generation*; *nett* (Goth. *nati*), *net*, had their double consonants from the inflected forms, see § 274.

§ 255. *p*, *t*, *k*, and *h* (= *χ*) were also doubled in West Germanic before a following *r* or *l*. The doubling regularly took place in the inflected forms (as gen. OE. OS. OHG. *bittres*, OE. *æpples*, OS. *apples*, OHG. *aphles*), and was then generally transferred to the uninflected forms by levelling, as OE. *bitter* (*biter*), OS. OHG. *bittar*, cp. Goth. *báitrs*, *bitter*; OE. *hlūttor* (*hlūtor*), OS. *hluttar*, OHG. *hlūttar*, cp. Goth. *hlūtrs*, *clear*, *pure*; OHG. *kupfar*, beside OE. *copor*, Lat. *cuprum*, *copper*; OE. *snottor* (*snotor*), OS. OHG. *snottar*, cp. Goth. *snutrs*, *wise*; OE. *wæccer* (*wæcer*, *wacor*), OHG. *wackar*, *watchful*; OS. *akkar*, OHG. *ackar*, beside OE. *æcer*, cp. Goth. *akrs*, *field*; OE. *æppel* (*æpl*), OS. *appul*, OHG. *aphul*, cp. O.Icel. *epli*, *apple*; OS. *luttill*, OHG. *lutzil*, beside OE. *lýtell*, *little*. In some words double forms arose through levelling out in different directions; thus regular forms were nom. sing. *tēar* (= OHG. *zahar*) from **teahur*, older **taχur*, *tear*, gen. **teahhres* (Nth. *tæhhres*), nom. pl. **teahhras* (Nth. *tæhhras*). From *tæhhres*, *tæhhras*, &c., was formed a new nom. sing. *tæhher* in Nth., whereas the other dialects generalized *tēar*, whence gen. sing. *tēares*, nom. pl. *tēaras*. In like manner arose *ēar* beside Nth. *æhher*, *ear of corn*; *gēol* beside *geohhol*, *Yule*, *Christmas*. See §§ 219, 260.

§ 256. Doubling of consonants also regularly took place before a following *n* in the weak declension of nouns, as sing. nom. **knotō*, *knot*, acc. **knotan(un)*, beside pl. gen. **knotnō(n)* > **knottō(n)*, dat. **knotnum* > **knottum*. This interchange between the single and double consonants gave rise to levelling in a twofold direction, so that one or other of the forms was transferred to all cases; thus in OE.

adder, beside older *ætgað(e)re*, *blādre*, *ǣdre*, *gegað(e)rode*, *nādre*; comparative *bettra*, *better*, *deoppra*, *deeper*, *geliccra*, *more like*, *hwittra*, *whiter*, *riccra*, *more powerful*, *yttra*, *outer*, beside older *bet(e)ra*, *dēopra*, *gelicra*, *hwitra*, *ricra*, *ȳtra*. Gen. *miccles* beside older *micles*, nom. *micel*, *great*. In words like *attor*, *poison*, *foddor*, *food*, *moddor*, *mother*, *tuddor*, *progeny*, beside older *ātor*, *fōdor*, *mōdor*, *tūdor*, the doubling of the consonant went out from the inflected forms, as gen. *ātres*, nom. pl. *mōdru*, which regularly became *attres*, *moddru* and from which a new nom. *attor*, *moddor* was formed. On a similar doubling of consonants in West Germanic, see § 255.

§ 261. The Germanic voiceless spirants, *f*, *þ*, *s* became the voiced spirants *b*, *ð*, *z* medially between voiced sounds, although the *f*, *þ*, *s* were retained in writing, as *cēafl*, *jaw*; *ofen*, *oven*; *wulfas*, *wolves*, § 296; *āpas*, *oaths*; *brōþor*, *brother*; *eorþe*, *earth*, § 302; *bōsm*, *bosom*; *nosu*, *nose*; *ōsle*, *ousel*, § 307.

NOTE.—This voicing of *f*, *þ*, *s* only took place in simple words, but not in compounds, such as *āpwēan*, *to wash*; *gefeht*, *battle*; *gesendan*, *to send*; *wynsum*, *pleasant*.

§ 262. The Germanic voiced spirants *b*, *g* became the voiceless spirants *f* (§ 294), *x* (§§ 320, Note, 323) before voiceless sounds and finally, as *geaf*, OHG. *gab*, *he gave*; *healf*, OHG. *halb*, *half*; *wif*, OHG. *wīb*, *woman*, *wife*; *burh*, *city*, *sorh*, *sorrow*, *dāh*, *dough*, *bēah*, *ring*, *bracelet*, beside gen. *burge*, *sorge*, *dāges*, *bēages*; *stihst* beside older *stīgest*, *thou ascendest*.

THE SEMIVOWELS.

w

§ 263. Germanic *w* = the *w* in NE. *wet* (generally written *uu*, *u*, *þ* in OE. manuscripts) remained initially before vowels, and generally also initially before and after

consonants, as *wæs*, Goth. OS. OHG. *was*, *was*; OE. OS. Goth. *witan*, OHG. *wizzan*, *to know*; and similarly *wadan*, *to go, wade*; *wascan*, *to wash*; *wæpen*, *weapon*; *wæron*, *were*; *wæter*, *water*; *wearm*, *warm*; *weder*, *weather*; *wefan*, *to weave*; *weorpan*, *to become*; *wid*, *wide*; *wilde*, *wild*; *windan*, *to wind*; *winter*, *winter*; *wolcen*, *cloud*; *wundor*, *wonder*; *wyrcan*, *to work*.

wlanc, *proud*; *wlite*, OS. *wliti*, *form, beauty*, Goth. *wlits*, *face, countenance*; *wlitig*, *beautiful*; *wracu*, Goth. *wraka*, *revenge, persecution*; *wrāþ*, *angry*; *writan*, *to write*.

cwēn, Goth. *qēns*, *queen, wife*; *cweþan*, Goth. *qipan*, *to say*; *hwā*, Goth. *hras*, *who?*; *hwæte*, Goth. *hráiteis*, *wheat*; *dwellan*, OHG. *twellen*, *to tarry*; *dweorg*, OHG. *twerg*, *dwarf*; *pwēan*, Goth. *pwahan*, *to wash*; *þweorh*, Goth. *þwairhs*, *angry, perverse*; *sweltan*, Goth. *swiltan*, *to die*; *sweostor*, Goth. *swistar*, *sister*; *twā*, Goth. *twái*, *two*; *twelf*, Goth. *twalif*, *twelve*.

§ 264. Medial *w* generally remained before vowels, as OE. OS. OHG. *spīwan*, Goth. *speiwan*, *to vomit, spit*; and similarly *awel*, *awl*; *gesewen*, *seen*; *lāwerce*, *lark*; *sāwol*, Goth. *sáiwala*, *soul*; *sniwan*, *to snow*; *þawian* from **pa-wōjan*, *to thaw*, see § 266. In verbs like *blāwan*, OHG. *blāan* beside *blāian*, *to blow*; *blōwan*, OHG. *bluoan* beside *bluoian*, *bluowen*, *to bloom*; *sāwan*, Goth. *saian*, OHG. *sāan* beside *sāian*, *sāwen*, *to sow*; *wāwan*, Goth. *waian*, OHG. *wāen* beside *wāian*, *to blow (of the wind)*, it is difficult to determine how far the *w* was etymological and how far it was originally merely a consonantal glide developed between the long and the short vowel; and similarly in *cnāwan*, *to know*; *crāwan*, *to crow*; *flōwan*, *to flow*; *grōwan*, *to grow*; *hlōwan*, *to low*; *māwan*, *to mow*; *rōwan*, *to row*; *prāwan*, *to twist*.

eowe, *ewe*; *eowestre*, Goth. *awistr*, *sheepfold*; *hweowol*, *wheel*; *meowle*, Goth. *mawilō*, *maiden*; *streowede*,

Goth. *strawida*, *I strewed*; *þeowian*, *to serve*. See §§ 77, 89.

Gen. sing. *bearwes*, *bealwes*, *cneowes*, *gearwes*, *snāwes*, *strawes*, *treowes*, *þeowes*, beside nom. *bearu*, *grove*, *bealu*, *evil*, *calamity*, *cnēo*, *knee*, *gearu*, *ready*, *snā*, *snow*, *strēa*, *straw*, *trēo*, *tree*, *þēo*, *servant*; gen. dat. sing. *lāswe*, *mādwē*, *sceadwe*, beside nom. *lās*, *pasture*, *mād*, *meadow*, *sceadu*, *shade*, *shadow*. See §§ 215, 266.

frætwan, *to adorn*; *gearwe*, *completely*; *gearwian*, *to prepare*; *nearwe*, *narrowly*; *nierwan*, *to narrow*; *sierwan*, *to devise*; *smierwan*, *to anoint*, *smear*; *spearwa*, Goth. *sparwa*, *sparrow*; *wealwian*, *to wallow*; *wielwan*, *to roll*.

brēowan, *to brew*, cp. O.Icel. pp. *bruggenn*, *brewed*; *cēowan*, OHG. *kiuwan*, *to chew*; *getrīewe*, *true*, *faithful*; *getrīewan*, *to trust*; *hēawan*, Goth. **haggwan*, *to hew*; *nīewe*, *nīwe*, *new*; *scēawian*, Goth. **skaggwōn*, *to examine*, *view*. See §§ 76, 90, 135.

§ 265. When *w* came to stand at the end of a word or syllable, it became vocalized to *u* (later *o*). The *u* then combined with a preceding short vowel to form a long diphthong, but disappeared after long stems, long vowels, and diphthongs, as nom. *bealu* (later *bealo*), *evil*, *calamity*, *bearu*, *grove*, *gearu*, *ready*, *mearu*, *tender*, *nearu*, *narrow*, *searu*, *armour*, beside gen. *bealwes*, *bearwes*, *gearwes*, *mearwes*, *nearwes*, *searwes*; masc. acc. sing. *gearone* from **gearwne*, *ready*. Nom. *cnēo*, *knee*, *strēa*, *straw*, *trēo*, *tree*, *þēo*, *servant*, beside gen. *cneowes*, *streawes*, *treowes*, *þeowes*. *gād*, Goth. *gáidw*, *want*, *lack*, *ā*, *ō*, Goth. *áiw*, *ever*; *hrā*, Goth. *hráiw*, *corpse*; *hrēa*, *raw*; *snā*, Goth. *snáiws*, *snow*.

But the *w* was mostly reintroduced into the nom. sing. from the inflected forms, especially after long vowels and long diphthongs. Regular forms were: nom. *cnēo*, *snā*, *strēa*, gen. *cneowes*, *snāwes*, *streawes*, from the latter

of which *w* was formed a new nom. *cnēow*, *snāw*, *strēaw*; and similarly *hrāw*, *corpse*; *hrēaw*, *raw*; *trēow*, *tree*; *pēow*, *servant*; *slāw*, *lazy*; *stōw*, *place*; *bēow*, *barley*; *dēaw*, *dew*; *glēaw*, *wise*; *hīew*, *hīw*, *shape*, *colour*; *hnēaw*, *stingy*; *hrēow*, *repentance*; *trēow*, *faith*. And conversely from the new nom. was sometimes formed a new gen., as *cnēowes*, *trēowes*, beside older *cneowes*, *treowes*.

§ 266. *w* disappeared before *u*, and *e* (= older *i*), as nom. *clēa* from **cla(w)u*, *claw*; *læs* from **læs(w)u*, *pasture*; *mæd* from **mæd(w)u*, *meadow*; *sceadu* from **scad(w)u*, *shade*, *shadow*; *prēa* from **pra(w)u*, *threat*, beside gen. *læswe*, *mædwe*, *sceadwe*; nom. acc. neut. *fēa* from **fa(w)u*, *few*; dat. *fēam* from **fa(w)um*, see § 140; dat. pl. *cnēom* from **cne(w)um*, beside nom. sing. *cnēo*, *knee*. And similarly at a later period: *betuh*, *between*, *cucu*, *quick*, *alive*, *cuðu*, *cud*, *uton*, *let us*, beside older *betwuh*, *cwucu*, *cwuðu*, *wuton*.

cū from **k(w)ū*, older **kwō*, *cow*; *hū* from **h(w)ū*, older **hwō*, *how*; neut. *tū* from **t(w)ū*, older **twō*, *two*. See § 130.

æ from **ā(w)i*, older **aiwi*. (Goth. *áiws*), *law*; *hræ* from **hrā(w)i*, older **hraiwi*, *corpse*; *sæ* from **sā(w)i*, older **saiwi*. (Goth. *sáiws*), *sea*; *giereþ*, prim. Germanic **garwiþ*, *he prepares*; pret. *gierede*, prim. Germanic **garwiðæ*, *he prepared*, beside inf. *gierwan*; and similarly pret. *nierede*, *sierede*, *smierede*, *wielede*, beside inf. *nierwan*, *to narrow*; *sierwan*, *to devise*; *smierwan*, *to anoint*; *wielwan*, *to roll*.

The *w* was often reintroduced after the analogy of forms where *w* was regular, as nom. *clawu*, *prawu* (beside the regular nom. *clēa*, *prēa*), new formations from the gen. and dat. *clawe*, *prawe*; dat. pl. *sæwum* beside *sām*, with *w* from the gen. pl. *sāwa*, *of seas*; pret. pl. *rēowun* beside *rēon*, with *w* from *rōwan*, *to row*; and similarly

grēowun, -on, *they grew*; sēowun, *they sowed*; &c. On forms like pret. pl. swulton, *they died*; swummon, *they swam*, see § 249. gierweþ, *he prepares*, pret. gierwede, beside the regular forms giereþ, gierende, with w from gierwan; cnæwþ for *cnæþ from *cnā(w)ip, *he knows*, with w from the inf. cnāwan.

§ 267. w often disappeared in the second element of compounds ealne, -ig, for ealne weg, *always*; fulluht from *full wuht, *baptism*; hlāford from *hlāf weard, *lord*; hwilende from *hwil wende, *transitory*; nāuht beside older nā-wuht, *naught*. And in certain verbal forms with the negative prefix, as næs = ne wæs, *was not*; nāron = ne wāron, *were not*; nāt = ne wāt, *knows not*; nolde = ne wolde, *would not*; nyle = ne wile, *will not*; nysse = ne wisse, *he knew not*; nytcn = ne witecn, *they know not*.

j

§ 268. Germanic j (= consonantal i) generally remained initially in Gothic, OS. and OHG., but disappeared in O.Icel. In OE. it had become a palatal spirant like the y in NE. yet, yon already in the oldest period of the language. It was usually written g, ge (also i, gi before a following u). Examples are: gēar, Goth. jēr, OS. OHG. jār, O.Icel. ār, *year*; geoc, iuc, Goth. juk, OHG. joch, O.Icel. ok, *yoke*; geong, giong, giung, iung, Goth. jugs, OS. OHG. jung, O.Icel. ungr, *young*; and similarly gē, gīe, *ye*; gēo, gīo, iū, *formerly, of old*; geogop, giogop, iugop, *youth*; geōmor, sad, *mournful*; geond, *through, beyond*; giest, *yeast*; gingra, *younger*. See § 51.

§ 269. Germanic medial -ij- became -i- which combined with a following guttural vowel to form a diphthong, as bīo, bēo, Germanic stem-form *bijōn-, *bee*; fēond, Goth. fijands, *enemy*; frēo from *frija-, *free*; frēond,

Goth. *frijōnds*, *friend*; nom. acc. neut. *þrīo*, *þrēo*, from **þriju* = Goth. *þrija*, *three*, see § 104.

§ 270. It is generally assumed that Germanic *j* remained in OE. between vowels when the first element was a long vowel or diphthong, but it is, however, more probable that *j* regularly disappeared in this position and that at a later period a consonantal glide (written *g*, *ge*) was developed between the vowels, as was sometimes the case in OS. and OHG., as *cīegan* from **kaujan*, *to call*; *frīgea* older *frīgea* = Goth. *fráuja*, *lord, master*; dat. *hīege*, Anglian *hēge* = Goth. *háuja*, *īege* = Goth. **áujaí*, beside nom. *hīeg*, *hay*, *īeg*, *island*; *þrēagean* from **þrauōjan*, *to threaten*; and similarly *fēog(e)an*, *to hate*; *frēog(e)an*, *to love*. Cp. § 275.

NOTE.—Forms like nom. *hīeg*, Goth. *hawī*, *hay*; *īeg*, *īg*, Goth. **awi*, gen. **áujs*, had the final *g* from the inflected forms, as gen. *hīeges*, dat. *hīege*, gen. and dat. *īege*.

§ 271. Germanic medial *j* (written *i*, *g*; *ig*, *eg*, also *ige* before *a*) remained after *r* in the combination [short vowel + *r*], as *herian*, *hergan*, *herigan*, *heregan*, *herigean*, Goth. *hazjan*, *to praise*; and similarly *nerian*, Goth. *nasjan*, *to save*; *werian*, Goth. *wasjan*, *to clothe, wear*; gen. sing. *heries*, *herges*, *heriges*, Goth. *harjis*, nom. pl. *hergas*, *herigas*, *herigeas*, Goth. *harjōs*, *armies*. The *i*, *e* in *ig*, *eg* represent a vocalic glide which was developed between the *r* and the *j*. And the *e* in *ige* merely indicates the palatal nature of the preceding *g*.

§ 272. Germanic medial *j* disappeared after original long closed syllables or syllables which became long by the West Germanic gemination of consonants (§ 254), as *dēlan*, Goth. *dāiljan*, *to divide*; *dēman*, Goth. *dōmjan*, *to judge*; *fyllan*, Goth. *fulljan*, *to fill*; *gelīefan*, Goth. *galáubjan*, *to believe*; *hīeran*, Goth. *háusjan*, *to hear*; *sēcan*, Goth. *sōkjan*, *to seek*. *gierd* from **geardju* = Goth.

*gardja, *rod, twig*; hild from *hildju = Goth. *hildja, *war*; gen. rices from *rikjes, Goth. reikjis, *of a kingdom*.

biddan, Goth. bidjan, *to pray*; hebban, Goth. hafjan, *to raise*; hliehhan, Goth. hlahjan, *to laugh*; leccan, Goth. lagjan, *to lay*; scieppan, Goth. skapjan, *to create*; settan, Goth. satjan, *to set*. Gen. sing. beddes, Goth. badjis, *of a bed*; cynnes, Goth. kunjis, *of a race, generation*; willa, Goth. wilja, *will*; henn from *hennju, older *χannjō = Goth. *hanja, *hen*; and similarly crycc, Goth. *krukja, *crutch*; hell, Goth. halja, *hell*; sibb, Goth. sibja, *relationship*; gen. helie, sibbe = Goth. haljōs, sibjōs.

NOTE.—j disappeared medially before i already in West Germanic; hence verbs, which have double consonants in the inf. by the West Germanic gemination of consonants, have only a single consonant in the second and third pers. sing. of the present indicative, as *legest, legeþ* = Goth. lagjis, lagjiþ, beside inf. *leccan* = Goth. lagjan, *to lay*.

§ 273. Germanic final -ōjan became -ian through the intermediate stages -ējan, ejan, -ijan, -īan, as lōcian from *lōkōjan, *to look*; macian from *makōjan, *to make*. The g in forms like lōcig(e)an, macig(e)an is merely a consonantal glide which was developed between the i and the a.

The Germanic ending -ij(i) from Indg. -eje became -ī during the prim. Germanic period, then -ī became shortened -i (§ 214). This -i regularly disappeared in prehistoric OE. after original long stems, but remained -i (later e) after original short stems, as hīer, Goth. hausei, from *χauzī, *hear thou*; sēc, Goth. sōkei, *seek thou*; but nere, Goth. nasei, *save thou*; and similarly bide, *pray thou*; fremme, *perform thou*; lege, *lay thou*; sete, *set thou*.

§ 274. When j came to stand finally after the loss of the case endings -az, -an (= Indg. -os, -om), it became vocalized to -i which became -e at a later period, as hierde, OS. hirdi, OHG. hirti, Goth. (acc.) haírdi, *shepherd*; and similarly ende, *end*; here, *army*; lāce, *physician*; rice,

OS. *rīki*, OHG. *rihhi*, Goth. *reiki*, *kingdom*; *wīte*, OS. *wīti*, *punishment*. The regularly developed forms of *hrycg*, *back*, *secg*, *man*, *bedd*, *bed*, *cynn*, *race*, *generation*, *nett*, *net*, and of similar masculine and neuter nouns with double consonants in the nom. and acc. singular, would be **hryge*, Goth. (acc.) **hrugi*; **sege*, Goth. (acc.) **sagi*; **bede*, Goth. *badi*; **cyne*, Goth. *kuni*; **nete*, Goth. *nati*. The nom. and acc. sing. are new formations with double consonants from the inflected stem-forms.

§ 275. Germanic *jj* became *ddj* in Goth. and *gg(j)* in O.Icel. In OE. *-ijj-* became *-ī-* through the intermediate stage *-ij-*; and *-ajj-* became *-æ-* through the intermediate stages *-aij-*, *-āj-*. And then between the *-ī-*, *-æ-* and a following vowel a consonantal glide (written *g*) was developed (cp. § 270), which was often levelled out into the uninflected forms, as *frīgedæg*, *frīgðæg*, *Friday*, beside *frēo* from **frīo*, older **frījō*, OS. *frī*, *woman*; *ēode* from **iode*, older **ijō-dæ-*, Goth. *iddja*, *he went*; gen. *āges*, *cāge*, *wāge*, beside nom. *æg* (O.Icel. *egg*, OS. OHG. *ei*), *egg*, *cæg*, *key*, *wæg* (Goth. *waddjus*, O.Icel. *veggr*), *wall*; *clæg*, Goth. (fem.) **kladdja*, OS. *klei*, *clay*.

THE LIQUIDS.

1

§ 276. Germanic *l* generally remained in OE. both initially, medially, and finally, as *lecgan*, Goth. *lagjan*, O.Icel. *leggja*, OS. *leggian*, OHG. *leggen*, *to lay*; *slæpan*, Goth. *slēpan*, OS. *slāpan*, OHG. *slāfan*, *to sleep*; OE. OS. OHG. *stelan*, Goth. *stilan*, O.Icel. *stela*, *to steal*; OE. OS. *helpan*, Goth. *hiipan*, O.Icel. *hjalpa*, OHG. *helfan*, *to help*; *sellan*, Goth. *saljan*, O.Icel. *selja*, OS. *sellian*, OHG. *sellen*, *to give*, *sell*; *feallan*, O.Icel. *falla*, OS. OHG. *fallan*, *to fall*; *sceal*, Goth. O.Icel. OS.

OHG. *skal*, *shall*; and similarly *lamb*, *lamb*; *land*, *land*; *lang*, *long*; *lædan*, *to lead*; *lēof*, *dear*; *leornian*, *to learn*; *lif*, *life*; *lufu*, *love*; *lýtēl*, *little*. *ealu*, *ale*; *meolu*, *meal*; *mioluc*, *milk*; *talū*, *number, tale*. *blōd*, *blood*; *clāne*, *clean*; *flēcn*, *to flee*; *glæd*, *glad*; *hlāford*, *lord*; *wlonc*, *proud*. *feld*, *field*; *folc*, *folk*; *folgian*, *to follow*; *gold*, *gold*; *helm*, *helmet*; *mettan*, *to melt*; *wealdan*, *to wield, govern*. *stille*, *still, silent*; *tellan*, *to tell*; *willa*, *will*. *fyllan*, *to fill*; *gealla*, *gall*; *weallan*, *to boil*; *wulle*, *wool*. *col*, *coal*; *cōl*, *cool*; *fūl*, *foul*; *fugol*, *fowl, bird*; *smæl*, *slender*; *sadol*, *saddle*; *stæl*, *he stole*. *hyll*, *hill*. *eall*, *all*; *full*, *full*.

On vocalic *l* as in *æpl*, *apple*; *nædl*, *needle*; *nægl*, *nail*; *segl*, *sail*; *setl*, *seat*, see § 219.

§ 277. *sl* underwent metathesis in unstressed syllables, as *byrgels*, OS. *burgisli*, *tomb*; *rædels*, OS. *rādislo*. MHG. *rætsel*, *riddle*; and similarly *brīdels*, *bridle*; *fætels*, *tub, vessel*; *gyrdels* older *gyrdisl*, *girdle*; *riecels*, *incense*. Metathesis of *l* rarely took place in stem-syllables, as Anglian *bold*, *dwelling*, *seld*, *seat*, *spāld*, *saliva*, beside WS. *botl*, *setl*, *spātl*.

r

§ 278. Germanic *r* generally remained in OE. both initially, medially, and finally, as *rēad*, Goth. *ráuþs*, O.Icel. *rauðr*, OS. *rōd*, OHG. *rōt*, *red*; OE. OS. OHG. *bringan*, Goth. *briggan*, *to bring*; here, Goth. *harjis*, OS. OHG. *heri*, *army*; OE. OS. *word*, Goth. *waúrd*, OHG. *wort*, *word*; *feorran*, *from afar*, Goth. *faírra*, *far off*; *fæder*, Goth. OS. *fadar*, O.Icel. *faðir*, OHG. *fater*, *father*; and similarly *rædan*, *to advise*; *rāp*, *rope*; *regn*, *rain*; *rice*, *kingdom*; *rīdan*, *to ride*; *rīm*, *number*; *rodoz*, *sky*; *rūm*, *room*. *crēopan*, *to creep*; *drēam*, *mirth*; *frēo*, *free*; *grēne*, *green*; *hrōf*, *roof*; *strēam*, *stream*; *trēo*, *tree*; *writan*, *to write*. *beran*, *to bear*; *cearu*, *care, sorrow*; *duru*, *door*; *faran*, *to go, travel*. *bierce*, *birch*; *burg*, *city*;

earm, *arm*; eorþe, *earth*; feorh, *life*; heard, *hard*; scearp, *sharp*; spearwa, *sparrow*; steorfan, *to die*; þorn, *thorn*; þurh, *through*; weorc, *work*. āfierran, *to remove*; steorra, *star*. fȳr, *fire*; hamor, *hammer*; mōdor, *mother*; tēar, *tear*; wer, *man*.

NOTE.—r disappeared in late OE. in *specan*, *to speak*, spæc, *speech*, beside older *sprecan*, spræc.

§ 279. West Germanic medial r from older z (§ 252) remained in OE., as *betra*, Goth. *batiza*, *better*; *herian*, Goth. *hazjan*, *to praise*; *hord*, Goth. *huzd*, *treasure*; and similarly *coren*, *chosen*; *dēor* (Goth. *dius*, gen. *diuzis*), *deer*, *wild animal*; *ēare*, *ear*; *hīeran*, *to hear*; *ieldra*, *elder*; *lāeran*, *to teach*; *leornian*, *to learn*; *māra*, *larger*; *nerian*, *to save*; *wāeron*, *they were*. *ierre*, Goth. *airzeis*, OS. OHG. *irri*, *angry*; and similarly **durran*, *to dare*; *mierran*, *to hinder*, *mar*; *pyrre*, *dry*, *withered*.

§ 280. Antevocalic r often became postvocalic by metathesis when a short vowel was followed by n, nn, s, or s + consonant, as *ærn*, Goth. *razn*, O.Icel. *rann*, *house*; *forsc*, O.Icel. *froskr*, OHG. *frosk*, *frog*; *forst*, O.Icel. OS. OHG. *frost*, *frost*; *hors*, O.Icel. OS. *hross*, OHG. *ros* (gen. *rosses*), *horse*; *iernan*, Goth. OS. OHG. *rinnan*, O.Icel. *rinna*, *to run*; and similarly *bærnan* (wv.), *biernan* (sv.), *to burn*; *bærs*, *perch* (*a fish*); *berstan*, *to burst*; *cærse*, *cress*; *fersc*, *fresh*; *fierst*, *space of time*; *gærs*, *grass*; *hærn*, *wave*; *þerscan*, *to thresh* (*corn*); *wærna* beside *wrænna*, *wren*.

§ 281. s or l + r became ss, ll by assimilation, as *læssa* from **læs(i)ra*, *smaller*; fem. gen. dat. sing. *þisse* (OHG. *desera*, *desero*), from **pisre*, *of this*; gen. pl. *þissa* (OHG. *desero*), from **pisra*; gen. sing. *ūsses* from **ūsres*, *of our*; dat. *ūssum* from **ūsrum*. *sēlla* beside *sēlra*, *better*.

THE NASALS.

m

§ 282. Germanic *m* generally remained in OE. both initially, medially, and finally, as *mōna*, Goth. *mēna*, O.Icel. *māne*, OS. OHG. *māno*, *moon*; OE. Goth. *guma*, O.Icel. *gume*, OS. *gumo*, OHG. *gomo*, *man*; OE. OS. *dumb*, Goth. *dumbs*, O.Icel. *dumbr*, OHG. *tumb*, *dumb*; OE. O.Icel. OS. OHG. *rūm*, *room*; and similarly *macian*, *to make*; *mann*, *man*; *māwan*, *to mow*; *meltan*, *to melt*; *min*, *my*; *mōdor*, *mother*; *mūp*, *mouth*. *cuman*, *to come*; *nama*, *name*; *niman*, *to take*; *tīma*, *time*; *pūma*, *thumb*. *besma*, *besom*; *climban*, *to climb*; *gelimpan*, *to happen*; *lamb*, *lamb*. *fremman* from **framjan*, *to perform*; *swimman*, *to swim*. *bēam*, *tree*; *brōm*, *broom*; *hām*, *home*; *helm*, *helmet*; *wyrm*, *snake*. *swamm*, *he swam*.

On vocalic *m* as in *æþm*, *breath*; *bōsm*, *bosom*; *botm*, *bottom*; *māþm*, *treasure*, see § 219.

§ 283. *m* disappeared in prehistoric OE. before *f*, *s* with lengthening of the preceding vowel, as *fif*, Goth. OHG. *fimf*, *five*; *ōsle*, OHG. *amsala*, *ousel*; *sōfte*, OHG. *samfto*, *softly*; *sēfte*, *soft*. But *m* remained when it came to stand before *s* at a later period, as *grimsian* from **grimisian* = OHG. *grimmisōn*, *to rage*; *þrim*s beside older *trimes*, *trymesse* (OHG. *drimissa*), *a coin*.

§ 284. Final *-m*, when an element of inflexion, became *-n* in late OE., as dat. pl. *ðagon*, *giefon*, *sunon* beside older *dagum*, *giefum*, *sunum*; dat. sing. and pl. *gōdon* beside older *gōdum*, *good*.

n

§ 285. Germanic *n* generally remained in OE. both initially, medially, and finally, as *nama*, Goth. *namō*, OS. OHG. *namo*, *name*; OE. OS. OHG. *sunu*, Goth. *sunus*, O.Icel. *sunr*, *son*; OE. Goth. OHG. *spinnan*, O.Icel. *spinna*, *to spin*; *þennan*, OS. *thennian*, OHG. *dennen*,

Goth. *panjan*, O.Icel. *penja*, to stretch; and similarly *nacod*, naked; *nædl*, needle; *nefa*, nephew; *nett*, net. *clæne*, clean; *grêne*, green; *mōna*, moon; *munuc*, monk; *wēnan*, to expect. *bindan*, to bind; blind, blind; *cnēo*, knee; *frēond*, friend; hand, hand; *hnutu*, nut; *sendan*, to send; *windan*, to wind. *spannan*, to clasp; *sunne*, sun; *þynn(e)*, thin. *bān*, bone; *cwēn*, queen; *heofon*, heaven; *mylen*, mill; *stān*, stone. *cinn*, chin; *henn*, hen; *mann*, man; *synn*, sin.

On vocalic *n* as in *hræfn*, raven; *regn*, rain; *tācn*, token, see § 219.

§ 286. *n* disappeared in prehistoric OE. before *þ*, *s* with lengthening of the preceding vowel, as *cūþ*, Goth. *kunþs*, OHG. *kund*, known; *ēst*, Goth. *austs*, OHG. *anst*, stem-form *ansti*, favour; *ōþer*, Goth. *aþar*, OHG. *andar*, other; *ūs*, Goth. OHG. *uns*, us; and similarly *cýþan*, to make known; *dūst*, dust; *fūs*, ready; *gesīþ*, companion; *gōs*, goose; *hōs* (OHG. *hansa*), band, escort; *mūþ*, mouth; *sīþ*, journey; *tōþ*, tooth; *wýscan*, to wish; *ýst*, storm. The long vowel became shortened in unstressed syllables, as *fracuþ*, -oþ, Goth. *frakunþs*, despised; and similarly *duguþ*, strength, valour; *geoguþ*, youth; *nimaþ* from **nimōþ*, older **nemonþ*, they take, see § 218. But *n* remained when it came to stand before *s* at a later period, as *clænsian* from **clænisian*, older **klainisōjan*, to cleanse; *minsian* from **minnisian*, to diminish; *winster* older *winester* (OHG. *winister*), left, left hand; also in the Latin loanword *pinsian* (Lat. *pensāre*), to consider.

§ 287. *n* sometimes disappeared between consonants, as *elboga* beside *elnboga*, elbow; pret. *nemde* from **nemnde*, he named; *sæterdæg* beside *sæterndæg*, Saturday.

§ 288. Final -*n* generally disappeared in verbal forms before the pronouns *wē*, *wit*; *gē*, *git*, as *binde wē*, let us bind; *binde gē*, bind ye!; *bunde wē?*, did we bind? See § 477.

Final *-n* disappeared in Nth. in words of more than one syllable. This law was fairly well preserved in the infinitive, the pres. and pret. pl. subjunctive, the weak declension of nouns and adjectives, numerals, and adverbs, but in strong nouns and adjectives including the pp. of strong verbs, the final *-n* was generally reintroduced into the nom. singular from the inflected forms. It was also mostly reintroduced into the indic. pret. plural through the influence of the (?)past participle which itself was a new formation. Examples are: *bera*, to bear, *gehēra*, to hear, *lāera*, to teach, *senda*, to send = WS. *beran*, *gehieran*, *lāran*, *sendan*; *gihēre*, they may hear, *sprece*, they may speak = WS. *gehieren*, *sprecen*; *bite*, they might bite = WS. *biten*; gen. dat. acc. sing. *fola*, foal, *heorta*, heart = WS. *folan*, *heortan*; nom. acc. pl. *galga* = WS. *gealgan*, gallows; *sefo* beside inflected form *seofona*, seven; *befora*, before, *binna*, within, *fearra*, from afar, *norþa*, from the north, *westa*, from the west = WS. *beforan*, *binnan*, *feorran*, *norþan*, *westan*; but *dryhten*, lord, *heofon*, heaven, *hēþen*, heathen, *ārisen*, arisen, *genumen*, taken, with *-n* from the inflected forms; *bērun*, they bore, *cwōmun*, they came, *læddun*, they led.

ŋ

§ 289. The Germanic guttural nasal ŋ (written *g* in Gothic, and *n* in the other Germanic languages) only occurred medially before *g* and *k* (written *c* in OE.). It disappeared in the combination *ŋx* already in prim. Germanic (§ 245). In OE. it remained guttural or became palatal according as the following *g, c* remained guttural or became palatal, cp. § 309. Examples are: OE. OHG. *bringan*, Goth. *briggan*, to bring; *drincan*, Goth. *drigkan*, OS. *drinkan*, OHG. *trinkan*, to drink; *geong*, Goth. *juggs*, O.Icel. *ungr*, OS. OHG. *jung*, young; and similarly *finger*, *finger*; *gangan*, to go; *hangian*, to hang; *hungor*,

hunger; *lang*, *long*; *tunge*, *tongue*; *sincan*, *to sink*; *singan*, *to sing*; *swincan*, *to labour*; *tungol*, *star*, *constellation*.

benc from **ban̥kiz*, *bench*; *lengra*, OS. *lengira*, OHG. *lengiro*, *longer*; *þencan*, Goth. *þagkjan*, OS. *thenkian*, OHG. *denken*, *to think*; and similarly *drencan*, *to give to drink*; *enge*, *narrow*; *engel*, *angel*; *englisc*, *English*; *finc*, *finch*; *mengan*, *to mix*; *segan*, *to singe*; *strengþ*, prim. Germanic *stran̥gipō*, *strength*; *þyncan*, *to seem*.

§ 290. The guttural *ŋ* disappeared in an unstressed syllable when preceded by *n* in a stressed syllable in the course of the OE. period, as *cynig*, *king*, *penig*, *penny*, beside older *cyning*, *pening*; *hunig*, O.Icel. *hunang*, OHG. *honang* beside *honag*, *honey*.

THE LABIALS.

P

§ 291. Germanic *p* from Indg. *b* (§ 232) was of rare occurrence, especially initially. Most of the words beginning with *p* in OE. are Latin or Greek loanwords. *p* remained in OE. both initially, medially, and finally, as *pād* (Goth. *páida*), *cloak*; *pening*, O.Icel. *penningr*, OHG. *pfenning*, *penny*; *open*, O.Icel. *openn*, OS. *opan*, OHG. *offan*, *open*; *slāpan*, Goth. *slēpan*, OS. *slāpan*, OHG. *slāfan*, *to sleep*; *dēop*, Goth. *diups*, O.Icel. *djūpr*, OS. *diop*, OHG. *tiof*, *deep*; and similarly *pæþ*, *path*; *pott*, *pot*; *plegan*, *to play*; *pliht*, *danger*, *plight*; *plōg*, *plough*; *prūt*, *proud*; *spere*, *spear*; *sprecan*, *to speak*. *clyppan*, *to embrace*; *grāpian*, *to grope*; *stæppan*, *to step*; *sūpan*, *to drink*; *swāpan*, *to sweep*; *wāpen*, *weapon*; *wēpan*, *to weep*. *hearpe*, *harp*; *helpan*, *to help*; *weorpan*, *to throw*, *cast*. *hēap*, *troop*, *heap*; *rāp*, *rope*; *scēap*, *sheep*; *scearp*, *sharp*; *scip*, *ship*; *ūp*, *up*.

Examples of Lat. loanwords are: *cuppe* (late Lat. *cuppa*),

p ; *pāwa*, *pēa* (Lat. *pāvo*), *peacock* ; *peru* (Lat. *pirum*), *ar* ; *pic* (Lat. acc. *picem*), *pitch* ; *pinsian* (Lat. *pensāre*), *weigh*, *consider* ; *pise* (Lat. *pīsum*), *pea* ; *pund* (Lat. *pundo*), *pound* ; *pyle* (Lat. acc. *pulvīnum*), *pillow* ; *pytt* (Lat. acc. *puteum*), *pit*.

b

§ 292. We have already seen that prim. Germanic *b* from *ndg. bh* became *b* initially, and also medially after *m* during the prim. Germanic period (§ 234); that prim. Germanic *bj* became *bb* in West Germanic (§ 254); and that the further development of prim. Germanic *b* belonged to the history of the separate Germanic languages (§ 235). Prim. Germanic *b*, and West Germanic *bb* from *bj* (§ 254) and *n* in the weak declension of nouns (§ 256), remained in OE., as OE. OS. OHG. *beran*, Goth. *baíran*, O.Icel. *bera*, *to bear*; OE. OS. *blind*, Goth. *blinds*, O.Icel. *blindr*, OHG. *blint*, *blind*; *brecan*, Goth. *brikan*, OHG. *brehhan*, *to break*; and similarly *bæc*, *back*; *bæp*, *bath*; *bān*, *bone*; *bēam*, *tree*; *bēodan*, *to command*; *bindan*, *to bind*; *bītan*, *to bite*; *blæc*, *black*; *blāwan*, *to blow*; *blōd*, *blood*; *bōc*, *book*; *bodig*, *body*; *brād*, *broad*; *bringan*, *to bring*; *brycg*, *bridge*.

dumb, Goth. *dumbs*, O.Icel. *dumbr*, OHG. *tumb*, *tumb*; and similarly *camb*, *comb*; *climban*, *to climb*; *amb*, *lamb*; *ymb(e)*, *about*, *around*; *wamb*, *stomach*.

bedd (Goth. gen. *badjis*), *bed*; *sibb*, Goth. *sibja*, OS. *sibbia*, OHG. *sibba*, *relationship*, *peace*; and similarly *cribb*, *crib*; *habban*, *to have*; *libban*, *to live*; *nebb*, *beak*; *ribb*, *rib*; *webb*, *web*. *ebba* (§ 256), *ebb*.

§ 293. Germanic medial *b* remained in OE. between voiced sounds. In the oldest period of the language it was mostly written *b*, as *giaban*, *to give*; *libr*, *liver*; *ober*, *over*. But owing to the fact that Germanic *f* became *b* medially between voiced sounds, although the *f* was

retained in writing (§ 296), the **f** also came to be used regularly to represent Germanic **þ** in OE. On the normal development of **þ** in the other Germanic languages, see § 230. Examples are: *giefan*, Goth. *giban*, O.Icel. *gefa*, OS. *geþan*, OHG. *geban*, *to give*; *hæfde*, Goth. *habáida*, OS. *habða*, *habða*, OHG. *habēta*, *he had*; *sealfian*, Goth. OHG. *salbōn*, OS. *salþon*, *to anoint*; *seofon*, Goth. OHG. *sibun*, OS. *sibun*, *seven*; and similarly *æfen*, *evening*; *beofor*, *beaver*; *cnafa*, *boy*; *delfan*, *to dig*; *drifan*, *to drive*; *hafast*, *thou hast*; *hafaþ*, *he has*; *heafoc*, *hawk*; *hēafod*, *head*; *hefig*, *heavy*; *heofon*, *heaven*; *hlāford*, *lord, master*; *hræfn*, *raven*; *læfan*, *to leave*; *lifde*, *he lived*; *lifer*, *liver*; *lofian*, *to praise*; *lufian*, *to love*; *ofer*, *over*; *scūfan*, *to push*; *siolufr*, *seolfor*, *silver*; *stefn*, *voice*; *steorfan*, *to die*; *wefan*, *to weave*; *yfel*, *evil*; gen. *wifes*, OHG. *wībes*, dat. *wife*, OHG. *wībe*, beside nom. *wīf*, OHG. *wīb*, *woman*. Also in Lat. loanwords with **b** = late Lat. **v**, as *dēofol* (Lat. *diabolus*), *devil*; *fēfor* (Lat. *fēbris*), *fever*; *tæfl* (Lat. *tabula*), *chess-board, die*; *trifot* (Lat. *tributum*), *tribute*.

NOTE.—*fn*, *fm* became *mn*, *mm* in late OE., as *emn* (Goth. *ibns*), *even*; *stemn* (Goth. *stibna*), *voice*, beside older *es(e)n*, *stef(e)n*; *wimman* (pl. *wimmen*) beside older *wifman*, *woman*.

§ 294. Final **þ** became the voiceless spirant **f** in OE. Goth. and OS. and thus fell together with Germanic final **f** (§ 295), as *geaf*, Goth. OS. *gab*, *he gave*; *healf*, OS. *half*, OHG. *halb*, *half*; *hlāf*, Goth. acc. *hláif*, OHG. *hleib*, *loaf, bread*; and similarly *cealf*, *calf*; *dēaf*, *deaf*; *dealf*, *he dug*; *lēaf*, *leaf*; *lēof*, *dear*; *lif*, *life*; *lof*, *praise*; *scēaf*, *he pushed*; *wif*, *wife, woman*.

f

§ 295. Germanic **f** remained initially, medially before voiceless consonants, and finally, as *fæder*, Goth. *fadar*, O.Icel. *faðer*, OS. *fadar*, OHG. *fater*, *father*; OE. OS. *fif*, Goth. OHG. *fimf*, *five*; OE. OS. *fōt*, Goth. *fōtus*,

O.Icel. *fōtr*, OHG. *fuoz*, *foot*; *gesceaft*, Goth. *gaskafts*, *creation*, OS. *giskaft*, *destiny*, OHG. *giscraft*, *creature*; OE. O.Icel. OS. OHG. *hof*, *court*, *dwelling*; OE. OS. *wulf*, Goth. acc. *wulf*, OHG. *wolf*, *wolf*; and similarly *fæger*, *fair*, *beautiful*; *fæst*, *firm*; *fæt*, *vessel*, *vat*; *fēa*, *few*; *feallan*, *to fall*; *feld*, *field*; *feohtan*, *to fight*; *fēower*, *four*; *feþer*, *feather*; *findan*, *to find*; *flæsc*, *flesh*; *fleax*, *flax*; *flēogan*, *to fly*; *fōda*, *food*; *folc*, *folk*; *folgian*, *to follow*; *fram*, *from*; *frēo*, *free*; *frēond*, *friend*; *frēosan*, *to freeze*; *fugol*, *bird*; *full*, *full*; *fȳr*, *fire*. *æfter*, *after*; *cræft*, *skill*; *gift*, *marriage gift*; *offrian*, *to offer*; *pyffan*, *to puff*; *ræfsan*, *refsan*, *to reprove*; *sceaft*, *shaft*, *pole*. *ceaf*, *chaff*; *hōf*, *he raised*; *hrōf*, *roof*.

§ 296. Germanic medial *f* became *þ* (= the *v* in NE. *vat*) between voiced sounds and thus fell together with Germanic *þ* in this position (§ 293). In the oldest period of the language the two Germanic sounds were mostly kept apart, the former being written *f*, and the latter *b*. Examples are: *cēafl*, OS. *kāfl*, cp. MHG. *kivel*, *jaw*; *ofen*, O.Icel. *ofn*, OHG. *ofan*, *oven*; *ceafor*, OHG. *kefar*, *cockchafer*; *sceofi*, Goth. **skufia*, cp. OHG. *scūfala*, *shovel*; sing. gen. *wulfes*, OHG. *wolfes*, dat. *wulfe*, OHG. *wolfe*, beside nom. *wulf*, OHG. *wolf*, *wolf*; and similarly in the inflected forms of words like *ceaf*, *chaff*; *hrōf*, *roof*.

§ 297. *fj* became *bb* through the intermediate stage *þj*, as *hebban*, Goth. *hafjan*, *to raise*.

THE DENTALS.

t

§ 298. Germanic *t* remained in OE. both initially, medially, and finally, as *tōþ*, Goth. *tunþus*, OS. *tand*, OHG. *zan(d)*, *tooth*; *tunge*, Goth. *tuggō*, O.Icel. OS. *tunga*, OHG. *zunga*, *tongue*; *twā*, Goth. *twái*, *two*; OE. OS. *etan*, Goth. *itan*, O.Icel. *eta*, OHG. *ezzan*, *to eat*;

OE. Goth. OS. *witan*, O.Icel. *vita*, OHG. *wizzan*, to know; *settan*, Goth. *satjan*, O.Icel. *setja*, OS. *settian*, OHG. *setzen*, to set; *snottor*, Goth. *snutrs*, O.Icel. *snotr*, OS. OHG. *snottar*, wise; *sceatt*, Goth. *skatts*, O.Icel. *skattr*, money, tribute; *neaht*, Goth. *nahts*, OS. OHG. *naht*, night; and similarly *tācn*, token; *tam*, tame; *tēar*, tear; *tellan*, to tell, count; *tīd*, *tīma*, time; *timber*, *timber*; *tōl*, tool; *tredan*, to tread; *trēo*, tree; *trog*, trough; *turf*, *turf*; *twelf*, *twelve*; *twig*, *twig*. *bitan*, to bite; *botm*, bottom; *feohtan*, to fight; *hatian*, to hate; *hwāte*, wheat; *meltan*, to melt; *mētan*, to find, meet; *restan*, to rest; *setl*, seat; *swēte*, sweet; *wāter*, water. *cnotta*, knot; *hwettan*, to whet, incite; *matto*, *mattock*; *sittan*, to sit. *fōt*, foot; *gāst*, spirit; *gylt*, guilt; *hwæt*, what; *hāt*, hot; *hwīt*, white; *pytt*, pit; *stræt*, street.

NOTE.—1. Medial and final *st* was sometimes written *sp* in early WS., as *dūsp*, dust, *fæsp*, fast, *giefesp*, thou givest, *wæsp*m, growth, *wāsp*, thou knowest, for *dūst*, *fæst*, *giefest*, *wæstm*, *wāst*.

2. Latin medial *t* became *d* in Low Latin, so that words borrowed at an early period have *t*, but those borrowed at a later period have *d*, as *bēte* (Lat. *bēta*), beetroot; *stræt* (Lat. *strāta*), street, road; but *abbod* (Lat. acc. *abbatem*), abbot; *læden* (Lat. acc. *latinum*), Latin (language); *sīde* (Lat. *sēta*), silk.

3. *t* often disappeared between consonants, as *fæsnian*, to fasten, *rihlīce*, justly, *prīsnēs*, boldness, beside *fæstnian*, *rihtlice*, *prīstnes*.

d

§ 299. Germanic *ḏ* became *d* initially, and also medially after *n* during the prim. Germanic period (§ 234). And *ḏ* in other positions became *d* in West Germanic (§ 253). On the normal development of Germanic *ḏ* in Goth. and O.Icel., see § 230. *d* generally remained in OE. both initially, medially, and finally, as *dæg*, Goth. *dags*, O.Icel. *dagr*, OS. *dag*, OHG. *tag*, day; *dohtor*, Goth. *daúhtar*, O.Icel. *dötter*, OS. *dohtar*, OHG. *tohter*, daughter;

fæder, Goth. fadar, O.Icel. faðir, OS. fadar, OHG. fater, *father*; OE. Goth. OS. bindan, O.Icel. binda, OHG. bintan, *to bind*; biddan, Goth. biðjan, O.Icel. biðja, OS. biddian, OHG. bitten, *to pray*; OE. OS. blōd, Goth. blōþ, O.Icel. blōð, OHG. bluot, *blood*; ceald, Goth. kalds, O.Icel. kaldr, OS. kald, OHG. kalt, *cold*; and similarly dāg, *dough*; dēad, *dead*; dēaf, *deaf*; dēap, *death*; dēman, *to judge*; dēofol, *devil*; dēop, *deep*; deorc, *dark*; dōn, *to do*; dragan, *to drag*; drifan, *to drive*; drincan, *to drink*; dūfan, *to dive*; dumb, *dumb*; duru, *door*; dwellan, *to lead astray*. bodig, *body*; cwædon, *they said*; fōdor, *fodder, food*; healdan, *to hold*; hīerde, *he heard*; hider, *hither*; lādan, *to lead*; lādde, *he led*; mōdor, *mother*; nādre, *adder*; sadol, *saddle*; sendan, *to send*; slīdan, *to slide*; þrida, *third*; weder, *weather*; pp. worden, *become*; wudu, *wood*. brȳd, *bride*; dād, *deed*; frēond, *friend*; pp. gemacod, *made*; god, *God*; gōd, *good*; hand, *hand*; hēafod, *head*; heard, *hard*; hlūd, *loud*; midd, *middle*; nacod, *naked*; rēad, *red*; word, *word*.

NOTE.—d disappeared between consonants, as pret. gyrdē from *gyrddē beside inf. gyrðan, *to gird*; sende from *sendde (= Goth. sandida), beside inf. sendan, *to send*; sellic beside seldlic, *strange, wonderful*.

§ 300. d became t before and after voiceless consonants. When two dentals thus came together, they became tt which was simplified to t finally and after consonants. And interconsonantal t generally disappeared before s. Examples are: blētsian, older blēdsian from *blōdisōjan, *to bless*; bitst beside bidest, *thou prayest*; bint from *bindþ, older bindeþ, *he binds*; bit, bitt from *biðþ, older bideþ, *he prays*; cyste from *cyssde, *he kissed*; gesynto from *gesundipu, *health*; grētte from *grētde (= Goth. *grōtīda), *he greeted*; iecte, Goth. *áuķida, *he increased*; lātst beside lādest, *thou ledest*. bin(t)st, older bindest,

thou bindest; and similarly **fin(t)st**, *thou findest*; **giel(t)st**, *thou yieldest*; **sten(t)st**, *thou standest*; **mils**, *mercy*, **milsian**, *to pity*, beside **milts**, **miltsian**. The *d* was often restored from forms where it was regular, as **findst**: **findan**; **milds**, **mildsian**: **milde**, *merciful*.

þ

§ 301. Germanic **þ** generally remained in OE. initially, medially when doubled, and finally, as **þencan**, Goth. **þagkjan**, OS. **thenkian**, OHG. **denken**, *to think*; **pūsēd**, Goth. **pūsundi**, OHG. **dūsunt**, *thousand*; **sceþþan**, Goth. **skapjan**, *to injure*; **oppe**, **eþpa**, Goth. **aíþþáu**, OS. **eððo**, **oððo**, OHG. **eddo**, *or*; **āþ**, Goth. acc. **áiþ**, OS. **ēð**, OHG. **eid**, *oath*; pret. **wearþ**, Goth. **warþ**, OS. **ward**, OHG. **ward**, *he became*; and similarly **þancian**, *to thank*; **þeccan**, *to cover*; **þeof**, *thief*; **þing**, *thing*; **þorn**, *thorn*; **þræd**, *thread*; **þringan**, *to press*; **þūma**, *thumb*; **þunor**, *thunder*; **þwang**, *thong*; **þyncan**, *to seem*. **moþpe**, *moth*; **sipþan**, *since, afterwards*; **smipþe**, *smithy*. **bæþ**, *bath*; **beraþ**, *they bear*; **bireþ**, *he bears*; **broþ**, *broth*; **clāþ**, *cloth*; **cūþ**, *known*; **cwæþ**, *he said*; **dēaþ**, *death*; **hæleþ**, *hero, man*; **hæþ**, *heath*; **mōnaþ**, *month*; **mūþ**, *mouth*; **norþ**, *north*; **tōþ**, *tooth*.

NOTE.—In late Nth. final **þ** appears as **-s** in the personal endings of verbs, as **bindes**, *he binds*, **bindas**, *they bind*, beside **bindeþ**, **bindaþ**.

§ 302. Germanic medial **þ** became **ð** between voiced sounds in OE., although the **þ** was retained in writing. In the oldest period of the language it was often written **d**. Examples are: **baþian**, *to bathe*; **brōþor**, *brother*; **byrþen**, *burden*; **eorþe**, *earth*; **fæþm**, *embrace, fathom*; **feþer**, *feather*; **hæþen**, *heathen*; **morþor**, *murder*; **ōþer**, *other*; **weorþan**, *to become*. Gen. **āþes**, **bæþes**, beside nom. **āþ**, *oath, **bæþ**, *bath*; inf. **cweþan**, *to say*, beside pret. sing. **cwæþ**.*

§ 303. Germanic medial *lþ* became *ld* in OE. The *ld* then became extended to the final position by levelling. Examples are: *fealdan*, Goth. *falþan*, *to fold*; *wilde*, Goth. *wilþeis*, *wild*; *wuldor*, Goth. *wulþus*, *glory*. Gen. *goldes* (= Goth. **gulþis*), dat. *golde* (= Goth. *gulþa*), from which a new nom. *gold* for **golþ* (= Goth. *gulþ*) was formed; and similarly *beald*, *bold*; *eald*, *old*; *feld*, *field*; *hold*, *gracious*; *weald*, *forest*. But the *lþ*, which arose from vowel syncope, remained, as *sælp*, OHG. *sālda*, *happiness*; *fieþ* from older **felleþ*, *he falls*.

§ 304. Germanic *þl* generally remained in Anglian, but became *dl* after long vowels in WS., as *ād*l (Anglian *āþ*l, *ād*l, *āld*), *disease*; *nā*dl (Anglian *nē*þl, Goth. *nēþla*), *needle*; *wā*dl (Anglian *wē*þl), *poverty*; *wā*dlā, *pauper*; *wī*dlīan, *to defile*.

§ 305. *þ* underwent assimilation with another dental or *s*, and then *tt* was simplified to *t* finally and after consonants, as *bīt*(t) from **bīdþ*, and *bī*þ, older *bīdeþ*, *he awaits*, *bīteþ*, *he bites*; *bit*(t) from *bideþ*, *he prays*; *ite*(t) from *iteþ*, *he eats*; *gesynto* from **gesundīþu*, *health*; *lāttēow* from **lād þēow*, *leader*; *mittȳ* from *mid þȳ*, *when*, *while*; *ofermētto* from **ofermōdiþu*, *pride*; *þætte* from *þæt þe*, *that which*; *cȳdde* beside *cȳþde*, *he made known*; but *cwiþ* beside *cwiþeþ*, *he says*. *cīest* from *cīesþ*, older *cīeseþ*, *he chooses*; *cwist*, older *cwiþest*, *thou sayest*; *forliest*, older *forlieseþ*, *he loses*; *wiext*, older *wiexeþ*, *it grows*; *hafastu* = *hafas* + *þū*, *hast thou*. *bliss*, *bliss*, *blissian*, *to rejoice*, *liss*, *favour*, beside *blīþs*, *blīþsian*, *līþs*.

THE SIBILANT s.

§ 306. Germanic *s* remained in OE. initially, medially in combination with voiceless consonants, and finally, as *sā*, Goth. *sáiws*, OS. OHG. *sēo*, *sea*; *slāpan*, Goth. *slēpan*, OS. *slāpan*, OHG. *slāfan*, *to sleep*; OE. OS.

OHG. *sunu*, Goth. *sunus*, O.Icel. *sunr*, *son*; *gāst*, OS. *gēst*, OHG. *geist*, *spirit*; OE. Goth. O.Icel. OS. OHG. *hūs*, *house*; and similarly *sadol*, *saddle*; *sād*, *seed*; *sealt*, *salt*; *sēcan*, *to seek*; *sēon*, *to see*; *sittan*, *to sit*; *slīdan*, *to slide*; *smæl*, *small, slender*; *snaca*, *snake*; *sōna*, *soon*; *sōt*, *soot*; *spearwa*, *sparrow*; *sprecan*, *to speak*; *standan*, *to stand*; *strēam*, *stream*; *sūþ*, *south*; *sweostor*, *sister*. *assa*, *ass, donkey*; *cyssan*, *to kiss*; *restan*, *to rest*; *þyrstan*, *to thirst*; *cēas*, *he chose*; *gærs*, *grass*; *gōs*, *goose*; *heals*, *neck*; *hors*, *horse*; *is*, *ice*; *mūs*, *mouse*; *wæs*, *was*.

For the Germanic combinations *sk* and *hs*, see §§ 312, 327.

NOTE.—*s* sometimes underwent metathesis with *p*, especially in late OE.; as *æps*, *aspen*, *cops*, *fetter, bond*, *wlips*, *lipping*, *wæsp*, *wasp*, beside *æsp*, *cosp*, *wlisp*, *wæps* (*wæfs*).

§ 307. Germanic *s* became *z* between voiced sounds in OE., but the *s* was retained in writing, as *bōsm*, *bosom*; *cēosan*, *to choose*; *grasian*, *to graze*; *hæsl*, *hazel shrub*; *lesan*, *to collect*; *nosu*, *nose*; *ōsle*, *ousel*; *wesole*, *wesle, weasel*; *wesan*, *to be*, beside *wæs*, *was*; gen. *hūses*, dat. *hūse*, beside nom. *hūs*, *house*.

§ 308. We have already seen that prim. Germanic *z* from Indg. *s* became *r* medially and was dropped finally in West Germanic (§ 252). Examples of medial *r* have been given in § 279; and of the loss of final *-z* in § 252.

THE GUTTURALS.

k

§ 309. Germanic *k*, generally written *c* in OE., remained a guttural initially before consonants and before the guttural vowels *a*, *ā*, *o*, *ō*, *u*, *ū*, and their umlauts *æ* (*e*), *ǣ*, *e*, *ē* (*ǣ*), *y*, *ȳ*, but became a palatal before the palatal vowels, *æ*,

ǣ (ē) = Germanic ǣ, e (= Germanic e), ē (= Germanic ē); ea, eo, io from Germanic a, e, i by breaking (§ 49), ēa, ēo, īo, i, ī, and their umlauts e, ie (= i-umlaut of ea, io), iē (= i-umlaut of ēa, īo), see § 47.

Germanic medial **k** and **kk** remained guttural when originally followed by a guttural vowel, as *bucca*, *he-goat*; *macian* from **makōjan*, *to make*; *sacu*, *strife*; *geoc*, *prim*. Germanic **jukan*, *yoke*; but became palatal when originally followed by an *i* or *j*, as *bryce* from **brukiz*, *breach*; *sēcan* = Goth. *sōkjan*, *to seek*; *þeccan* from **þakjan*, *to cover*.

The guttural and palatal *c* often existed side by side in different forms of the same word, as *pret. pl. curon*, *pp. coren*, beside *inf. cēosan*, *to choose*; *brecan*, *to break*, beside *bricþ* from **brikþ*, *he breaks*.

Some scholars assume that palatal *c* and *nc* became. *ts* (= *ch* in NE. *chin*), *nts* in Mercian, WS. and Ken. in the earliest period of the language, but this is an assumption which cannot be proved. All that we know for certain is that OE. had a guttural and a palatal **k**, that the former was sometimes written **k** and the latter always **c**, and that the two **k**-sounds had separate characters in the OE. runic alphabet. Both the guttural and the palatal **k** were generally written **c** in OE. When **c** was palatal it was often written **ce**, **ci** medially before a following guttural vowel, with **e**, **i** to indicate the palatal nature of the **c**, as *sēcean*, *to seek*; *þeccan*, *to cover*; *þencean*, *to think*, cp. § 319, Note.

§ 310. 1. Guttural *c*.

cēlan from **kōljan*, *to cool*; *cemban* from **kambjan*, *to comb*; *corn*, Goth. *kaurn*, *corn*; *cūþ*, Goth. *kunþs*, *known*; *cynn*, Goth. *kuni*, *race*, *generation*; *cnēo*, Goth. *kniu*, *knee*; and similarly *camb*, *comb*, *comb*; *cēne*, *keen*, *bold*; *cennan*, *to give birth*; *cēpan*, *to keep*; *cōl*, *cool*; *coss*, *kiss*; *cū*, *cow*; *cuman*, *to come*; *cyning*, *king*; *cyssan*, *to kiss*; *cȳþan*, *to make known*. *clāne*, *clean*; *cimban*, *to*

climb; *cnotta*, *knot*; *cræft*, *skill*; *cwēn*, *queen*. Also in Lat. loanwords, as *candel* (Lat. *candēla*), *candle*; *copor* (Lat. *cuprum*), *copper*; *cycene* (late Lat. *coquina*, *cucina*), *kitchen*; and similarly *camp*, *fight*, *battle*; *cempa*, *warrior*; *cōc*, *cook*; *cuppe*, *cup*.

æcer, Goth. *akrs*, prim. Germanic **akraz*, *field*; *nacod*, Goth. *naqaþs*, OHG. *nakot*, *naked*; *wracu*, Goth. *wraka*, *persecution*; and similarly *bacan*, *to bake*; *bucca*, *he-goat*; *draca*, *dragon*; *ficol*, *cunning*; *hnecca*, *neck*; *sprecan*, *to speak*; *sticca*, *stick*. *macian* from **makōjan*, *to make*; and similarly *liccian*, *to lick*; *lōcian*, *to look*; *prician*, *to prick*. *drincan*, *to drink*; *þancian*, *to thank*.

bucc, O.Icel. *bokkr*, Indg. **bhugnós*, *buck*; *blæc*, prim. Germanic **blakaz*, *black*; *geoc*, Goth. *juk*, prim. Germanic **jukan*, *yoke*; and similarly *āc*, *oak*; *bæc*, *back*; *bōc*, *book*; *brocc*, *badger*; *flocc*, *flock*; *folc*, *folk*; *mioluc*, *milk*; *sēoc*, *sick*; *weorc*, *work*; *þanc*, *thought*.

§ 311. 2. Palatal c.

cēapian, Goth. *káupōn*, *to trade*, *traffic*; *cēosan*, Goth. *kīusan*, *to choose*; *cinn*, *chin*, Goth. *kinnus*, *cheek*; and similarly *ceaf*, *chaff*; *ceafor*, *cockchafer*; *cealc*, *chalk*; *ceald*, *cold*; *cealf*, *calf*; *ceorfan*, *to carve*, *cut*; *ceorl*, *churl*, *man*; *cēowan*, *to chew*; *cīdan*, *to chide*; *ciēse*, *cheese*; *cierran*, *to turn*; *cild*, *child*; *cirice*, *church*.

bēc from **bōkiz*, *books*; *lāce*, Goth. *lēkeis*, *physician*; *smīec* from **smaukiz*, *smoke*; *weccan*, Goth. *us-wakjan*, *to arouse*; *benc* from **baŋkiz*, *bench*; *þenc(e)an*, Goth. *þagkjan*, *to think*; and similarly *birce*, *birch*; *crycc*, *crutch*; *flicce*, *flitch*; *mēce*, *sword*; *mycel*, *great*; *sēc(e)an*, *to seek*; *strecc(e)an*, *to stretch*; *stycce*, *piece*; *tāc(e)an*, *to teach*; *wicce*, *witch*; *drenc(e)an*, *to submerge*; *þync(e)an*, *to seem*; *stenc*, *smell*, *odour*.

NOTE.—1. *cs* was generally written *x* in OE., as *æx* beside older *æces*, *axe*; *rīxian* beside *rīcsian* from **rīkisōn*, *to rule*.

2. OE. final *c* became palatal when preceded by *i* or *ī*, as *ic*,

I; hwelc from *hwa-līk, *which*; līc, *body*; pic, *pitch*; swelc from *swa-līk, *such*.

3. In Anglian final *c* became *χ* (written *h*) in unstressed words, as *ah* beside late WS. *ac*, *but*; īowih (īwih), *you*, ūsih, *us*, beside WS. ēcwic, ēsic; ih, *I*, meh, *me*, peh, *thee*, beside the stressed forms *ic*, *mec*, *pec*.

§ 312. In the oldest period of the language *sc*, like *c* (§ 309), was guttural or palatal, but some time during the OE. period the guttural *sc* became palatal, except in loan-words. It was often written *sce*, *sci* before a following guttural vowel with *e*, *i* to indicate the palatal nature of the *sc*. There is no definite proof that *sc* became *ʃ* (= the *sh* in NE. *ship*, *shape*) in early OE. as is assumed by some scholars. Examples are: *sc(e)acan*, *to shake*; *scand*, *disgrace*; *sc(e)adu*, *shadow*; *sceaft*, *shaft*; *sceal*, *shall*; *scēap*, *sheep*; *scearp*, *sharp*; *sc(e)ort*, *short*; *scēotan*, *to shoot*; *scield*, *shield*; *scieppan*, *to create*; *scieran*, *to shear*; *scilling*, *shilling*; *scip*, *ship*; *scōh*, *shoe*; *scrūd*, *dress*, *garment*; *sculdor*, *shoulder*; *scūr*, *shower*; *scyldig*, *guilty*. *blyscan*, *to blush*; *þerscan*, *to thresh*; *wascan*, *to wash*; *wýscan*, *to wish*. *englisc*, *English*; *fisc*, *fish*; *flāsc*, *flesh*. But *scōl* (Lat. *schola*), *school*; *scinn* (O.Icel. *skinn*), *skin*.

NOTE.—Medial *sc* often underwent metathesis to *cs* (written *x*), especially in late WS., as *axe*, *ashes*, *āxian*, *to ask*, *fixas*, *fishes*, *waxan*, *to wash*, beside *asce*, *āscian* (OHG. *eiskōn*), *fiscas*, *wascan*.

g

§ 313. Germanic *ǵ* became *g* after *ŋ* during the prim. Germanic period (§ 234). *ǵj* (§ 254) and *ǵn* (§ 256) became *gg* in West Germanic. Germanic *ǵ* remained a spirant in all other positions in the oldest period of OE. On the normal development of Germanic *ǵ* in the other Germanic languages, see § 230.

Germanic initial and medial *ǵ* became differentiated in prehistoric OE. into a guttural and a palatal voiced spirant

under the same conditions as those by which Germanic **k** became differentiated into a guttural and a palatal explosive (§ 309).

§ 314. Initial guttural **g** remained in the oldest period of the language, but had become the voiced explosive **g** before the end of the OE. period. Initial palatal **g** (written **g**) remained a spirant (= the **y** in NE. *yet*, *yon*) and fell together with Germanic initial **j** (§ 288). This explains why Germanic initial **j** was written **g** in OE.

§ 315. 1. Guttural **g**.

gāst, OS. *gēst*, OHG. *geist*, *spirit*; OE. OS. *gōd*, Goth. *gōþs*, O.Icel. *gōðr*, OHG. *guot*, *good*; OE. OS. OHG. *gold*, Goth. *gulþ*, *gold*; OE. Goth. *guma*, O.Icel. *gume*, OS. *gumo*, OHG. *gomo*, *man*; *græs*, Goth. OS. OHG. *gras*, *grass*; and similarly *gād*, *goad*; *gaderian*, *to gather*; *galan*, *to sing*; *gamen*, *game*, *amusement*; *gār*, *spear*, *javelin*; *gāt*, *goat*; pl. *gatu*, *gates*; *gēs*, *geese*; *god*, *God*; *gōs*, *goose*; pret. pl. *guton*, *they poured out*; pp. *goten*, *poured out*; *gūþ*, *war*; *gylden*, *golden*. *glæd*, *glad*; *glōf*, *glove*; *gnætt*, *gnat*; *grēne*, *green*; *grund*, *ground*.

§ 316. 2. Palatal **g**.

geaf, Goth. O.Icel. OS. *gaf*, OHG. *gab*, *he gave*; *gealga*, OS. OHG. *galgo*, *gallows*, Goth. *galga*, *cross*; *gēotan*, Goth. *giutan*, OS. *giotan*, OHG. *giozan*, *to pour out*; *giefan*, Goth. *giban*, O.Icel. *gefa*, OS. *geban*, OHG. *geban*, *to give*; and similarly *gēafon*, *they gave*; *geard*, *courtyard*; *gearn*, *yarn*; *geat* (NE. dial. *yet*), *gate*; *geolu*, *yellow*; *gewiss*, *certain*; *giefu*, *gift*; *gieldan*, *to repay*, *yield*; *giellan*, *to yell*; *gielpa*, *to boast*; *giēman*, *to take notice of*; *giernan*, *to yearn for*; *giest*, *guest*; *gierwan*, *to prepare*; *gift*, *marriage gift*.

NOTE.—The guttural and palatal **g** often existed side by side in different forms of the same word, as pl. *gatu* beside sing. *geat*; pret. pl. *guton*, pp. *goten*, beside inf. *gēotan*, pret. sing. *gēat*.

§ 317. The **g** in the combination **ŋg** remained guttural or became palatal according as it was originally followed by a guttural or a palatal vowel or **j**. It also remained guttural before consonants.

1. Guttural **ŋg**: OE. OS. OHG. *bringan*, Goth. *briggan*, *to bring*; *cyning* from **kuniŋgaz*, *king*; *lang* from **laŋgaz*, *long*; *tunge*, Goth. *tuggō*, OS. *tunga*, OHG. *zunga*, *tongue*; and similarly *engiisc*, *English*; *finger* (Goth. *figgrs*), *finger*; *hring*, *ring*; *hungor*, *hunger*; *ŋingan*, *to sing*; *springan*, *to leap*; *stingan*, *to sting*; *ping*, *thing*.

2. Palatal **ŋg**, often written **ge** medially before guttural vowels with **e** to denote the palatal nature of the **g**:

seng(e)an from **saŋgjan*, *to singe*; *streng* from **straŋgiz*, *string*; and similarly *feng*, *grasp*; *gemeng(e)an*, *to mix*; *lengra* (OHG. *lengiro*), *longer*; *steng*, *pole*.

§ 318. **ŋg** became **ŋc** before voiceless consonants, but the **g** was generally restored through association with forms where **g** was regular, as *brincst*, *thou bringest*, *brincþ*, *he brings*, beside *bringst*, *bringþ*, with **g** restored from the other forms of the verb; *strencþ* from **straŋgipu*, beside *strengþ*, *strength*, with **g** restored from *strang*, *strong*; and similarly *ancsum*, *narrow*, *lencden*, *spring*, *sprincþ*, *he leaps*, beside *angsum*, *lengten*, *springþ*.

§ 319. West Germanic **gg** from prim. Germanic **gŋ** (§ 256) remained guttural in OE. and was generally written **gg**, as *dogga*, *dog*; *ĕarwicga*, *earwig*; *frogga*, *frog*; *stagga*, *stag*; *sugga*, *water wagtail*.

West Germanic **gg** from prim. Germanic **gŋ** (§ 254) became palatal **gg** in OE. and was generally written **cg**, also **cge**, **cgi**, before a medial guttural vowel, as *brycg*, Goth. **brugja*, *bridge*; *bycg(e)an*, Goth. *bugjan*, *to buy*; *secg*, Goth. **sagjis*, *man*; *lecg(e)an*, Goth. *lagjan*, *to lay*; and similarly *cycgel*, *dart*; *hrycg*, *back*, *ridge*; *licg(e)an*, *to lie down*; *mycg*, *midge*; *secgan*, *to say*; *wecg*, *wedge*.

NOTE.—Some scholars assume that palatal **ŋg** and **gg** became

ndž, dž (= the *g* in NE. *gem*) in Mercian, WS. and Ken. in early OE., but there is no definite proof that this sound-change took place in OE., cp. § 309.

§ 320. Medial *g* remained a guttural spirant before original guttural vowels, but became a palatal spirant when originally followed by a palatal vowel or *j*. It also became palatal between OE. palatal vowels.

1. Guttural *g*.

OE. Goth. OS. *dragan*, O.Icel. *draga*, OHG. *tragan*, to draw; *ēage*, Goth. *áugō*, O.Icel. *auga*, OS. *ōga*, OHG. *ouga*, eye; OE. OS. OHG. *stigan*, Goth. *steigan*, O.Icel. *stíga*, to ascend; and similarly *āgan*, to possess; *dagian* from **dagōjan*, to dawn; *duguþ*, strength, virtue; *belgan*, to become angry; *beorgan*, to protect, shelter; *boga*, bow; *būgan*, to bow down; *flēogan*, to fly; *flēoge*, fly; *folgian*, to follow; *fugol*, bird, fowl; *lagu*, law; *lēogan*, to lie; *maga*, stomach; *slōgon*, they slew; *sugu*, sow; *swelgan*, to swallow; pl. *dagas*, days; *wegas*, ways.

2. Palatal *g*, often written *ge* before a following guttural vowel.

bīegan from **baugjan*, to bend; *ege*, Goth. *agis*, fear; *sige*, Goth. *sigis*, victory; *wæg* from **wægiz*, wave; and similarly *byge*, traffic; *eglan*, to molest; *hyge*, mind; *lyge*, falsehood; *myrg(i)þ*, mirth. *fægen*, glad; *fæger*, fair; *mægen*, strength; *nægel*, nail; *slægen*, slain; *tæg(e)l*, tail; gen. sing. *dæges*, *weges*..

NOTE.—*g* became *h* (= *χ*) before voiceless consonants, but the *g* was often restored from forms where *g* was regular, as *stīhst*, thou ascendest, *stīhþ*, he ascends, beside older *stigest*, *stīgeþ*; and similarly *flīehst*, *flīehþ*, beside inf. *flēogan*, to fly.

§ 321. *g* often disappeared after palatal vowels before a following dental or consonantal *n* with lengthening of the preceding vowel, as *brēdan*, to brandish, *brīdels*, bridle, *frīnan*, to ask, *lēde*, he laid, *māden*, maiden, *ongēan*

(ongēn), *against*, rīnan, *to rain*, sǣde, *he said*, strēdan, *to shrew*, tīþian, *to grant*, þēnian, *to serve*, beside bregdan, brīgdels, frīgnan, legde, mægden, ongeagn, rīgnan, sægde, stregdan, tīgþian, þegnian. Gen. rēnes beside regnes, from which a new nom. rēn beside regn, *rain*, was formed; and similarly þēn, *servant*, wān, *wagon*, beside þegn, wægn.

§ 322. Medial -igi-, -ige- were contracted to -ī- as in MHG., as gelīre beside geligere, *fornication*; īl beside igil, *hedghehog*; sīþe from *sigiþe, *scythe*; tīle beside tigele, *tile*; līþ (MHG. līt) beside ligeþ (MHG. liget), *he lies*; līst beside ligest, *thou liest*.

§ 323. When Germanic ȝ came to stand finally in OE., it is probable that it became a voiceless spirant (χ) just as in Goth. OS., and prehistoric O.Icel., but that the g (= ȝ) was mostly restored again owing to the influence of the inflected forms. After liquids and guttural vowels the restoration of the g was merely orthographical, but the further history of the sound in OE. shows that after palatal vowels it was mostly restored in pronunciation as well, because -h rarely occurs after palatal vowels, as in sextih beside sextig, *sixty*; weh beside weg, *weigh thou*. The h (= χ) seldom occurs in early OE., but is common in late OE. especially after liquids and long vowels, as mearh, *marrow*, bealh, *he became angry*, beside mearg, bealg; and similarly beorh, *hill*; burh, *city*; sorh, *sorrow*; swealh, *he swallowed*. dāh, *dough*, plōh, *plough*, stāh, *he ascended*, beside dāg, plōg, stāg; and similarly bēah, *ring, bracelet*; bōh, *bough*; flēah, *he flew*; genōh, *enough*; stih, *path*; troh beside trog, *trough*.

§ 324. Final ȝ became palatal after palatal vowels, as dæg, *day*; mæg, *may*; weg, *way*; ænig, *any*; bodig, *body*; dysig, *foolish*; hālig, *holy*; hefig, *heavy*; manig, *many*. Then at a later period (earliest in Ken.) g became i consonant which combined with a preceding æ, e to form a

diphthong, as *dæi* (Ken. *dei*), *mæi*, *wei*, late WS. also *dæig*, *mæig*, *weig*. And *-ig* became *-i* through the intermediate stage *-ī*, as *āeni*, *dysi*, *hefi*, &c.

h

§ 325. Initial *χ* had become an aspirate before vowels already in prim. Germanic (§ 246). In OE. it also became an aspirate initially before consonants except in the combination *χw*. The spirant remained in the combination *χw* and has been preserved in many Scotch dialects down to the present day. Examples are: OE. Goth. O.Icel. OS. OHG. *hūs*, *house*; *habban*, Goth. *haban*, O.Icel. *hafa*, OHG. *habēn*, *to have*; and similarly *hamor*, *hammer*; *hand*, *hand*; *hælan*, *to heal*; *hēafod*, *head*; *heard*, *hard*; *heorte*, *heart*; *hieran*, *to hear*; *hold*, *gracious*; *hungor*, *hunger*.

hlāf, Goth. *hlāifs*, OHG. *hleib*, *loaf*, *bread*; OE. OS. OHG. *hnīgan*, *to bend down*; OE. OS. OHG. *hring*, O.Icel. *hringr*, *ring*; and similarly *hladan*, *to load*; *hlēapan*, *to leap*; *hlid*, *lid*; *hlōt*, *lot*; *hnutu*, *nut*; *hræfn*, *raven*; *hrēod*, *reed*; *hrīmīg*, *rimy*.

hwā, Goth. *hvas*, OS. *hwē*, OHG. *hwer*, *who*; *hwil*, Goth. *hveila*, O.Icel. *hvīl*, OS. OHG. *hwīla*, *space of time*; and similarly *hwæl*, *whale*; *hwæte*, *wheat*; *hwæper*, *which of two*; *hwelp*, *whelp*; *hwīt*, *white*.

NOTE.—*h* often disappeared with *ne* and *habban*, as *nabban*, *not to have*; *næbbe*, *I have not*; *næfde*, *I had not*. It also disappeared in the second element of compounds which were no longer felt as such in OE., as *bēot* from **bi-hāt*, *boast*; *frēols* from **fri-hals*, *freedom*; *eofot* from **ef-hāt*, *debt*; *licuma* beside older *lic-hama*, *body*; *ōnettan* from **on-hātjan*, *to hasten*; *ōret* (OHG. *urheiz*) from **or-hāt*, *battle*; *wælrēow* beside older *wæl-hrēow*, *fierce*, *cruel*.

§ 326. Medial *χ* remained in OE. before voiceless consonants, and when doubled. It was guttural or palatal according as it was originally followed by a guttural or palatal vowel or *j*, as *brōhte*, Goth. OS. OHG. *brāhta*, *he brought*;

dohtor, Goth. *daúhtar*, OS. *dohtar*, OHG. *tohter*, *daughter*; *eahta*, Goth. *ahtáu*, OS. OHG. *ahto*, *eight*; and similarly *bohte*, *he bought*; *cnieht*, *cnihht*, *boy*; *feoh-tan*, *to fight*; *hleahhtor*, *laughter*; *lēoht*, *a light*; *pret-meahhte*, *he might*; *reoht*, *rieht*, *ryht*, *right*; *sōhte*, *he sought*; *pōhte*, *he thought*; *ūhta*, *dawn*. *crohha*, *crook*, *pot*; *geneahhe*, *sufficiently*; *pohha*, *pocket*; *tiohhian*, *to think*, *consider*.

Dat. *dehter* from **dohtri*, beside nom. *dohtor*, *daughter*; *flyht* from **fluxtiz*, *flight*; *hiehsta* from **xauxist*, *highest*; *hliehhan*, Goth. *hlahjan*, *to laugh*; *liehtan*, Goth. *liuhtjan*, *to give light*; *siehist*, OHG. *sihis*, *thou seest*; *siehp*, OHG. *sihit*, *he sees*; and similarly *fēhst*, *thou seizest*; *fēhp*, *he seizes*; *niehsta*, *nearest*; *tyht*, *training*, *habit*.

§ 327. *xs* became *ks* (written *x*) in OE., as *oxa*, Goth. *aúhsa*, OS. OHG. *ohso*, *ox*; *siex*, Goth. *saíhs*, OS. OHG. *sehs*, *six*; *weaxan*, OS. OHG. *wahsan*, *to grow*; and similarly *feax*, *hair*; *fleax*, *flax*; *fox*, *fox*; *fyxen*, *vixen*; *miox*, *dung*; *wrixlan*, *to exchange*.

§ 328. Final *x* remained, as *hēah*, OS. OHG. *hōh*, *high*; *nēah*, OS. OHG. *nāh*, *near*; *seah*, OS. OHG. *sah*, *he saw*; *sealh*, OHG. *salaha*, *willow*; *purh*, Goth. *paírh*, OS. *thurh*, OHG. *duruh*, *durh*, *through*; and similarly *feoh*, *cattle*, *property*; *rūh*, *rough*; *scōh*, *shoe*; *tōh*, *tough*; *wōh*, *perverse*, *bad*; *seoh*, *see thou*; *sleah*, *slay thou*; *tēoh*, *pull thou*. *eolh*, *elk*; *holh*, *hollow*; *seolh*, *seal*; *sulh*, *plough*; *wealh*, *foreigner*. *feorh*, *life*; *furh*, *furrow*; *mearh*, *horse*.

NOTE.—Such forms as late WS. *blēoh*, *colour*, *ēoh*, *yew*, *frēoh*, *free*, beside *blēo*, *ēo*, *frēo*, owe their final *h* to the analogy of words like *feoh*, gen. *fēos*.

§ 329. Medial *x* disappeared:

1. Before *s* + consonant, as *fýst* from **fūxstiz*, *fist*; *Nth*, *se(i)sta*, *sixth*, beside WS. *siexta*, *syxta* which was a new

formation from the cardinal; *sester* (Lat. *sextārius*), *vessel, pitcher, jar*; *þisl* beside older *þixl* (OHG. *dihhsala*), *wagon-pole*; *wæsmā, wæstm*, *growth*, beside *weaxan* (OHG. *wahsan*), *to grow*. But the *x* remained in *xs* when it arose from vowel syncope, as *siehst*, *thou seest*; *hiehsta* from **xauχist*, *highest*.

2. Between a vowel and a following liquid or nasal, as *betwēonan, betwēonum*, *between*, cp. Goth. *tweihnái*, *two each*; *ēorod* from **eohrād*, *troop*; *fīol, fēol* (OHG. *fihala*), *file*; *hēla* from **hōhila*, *heel*; *lāne* (OS. *lēhni*), *transitory*; *lēoma*, *ray of light*, cp. Goth. *liuhap*, *light*; *stiele* from **staχlja-*, *steel*; *þwēal* (Goth. *þwahl*), *washing, bath*; masc. acc. sing. *wōne* beside nom. *wōh*, *perverse, bad*; *ȳmest* (Goth. *áuhmists*), *highest*; and similarly in compounds, as *hēalic*, *lofty*, *hēanes*, *height*, beside *hēah*, *high*; *nēalācan*, *to draw nigh*, *nēalic*, *near*, *nēawest*, *nearness*, beside *nēah*, *near*.

3. Between a liquid and a following vowel, as *fēolan* (Goth. *filhan*), *to penetrate, hide*; *þȳrel* from **þurχil*, *opening, aperture*; sing. gen. *ēoles, fēares, fēores, hōles, mēares, sēoles, wēales*, beside nom. *eolh, elk, fearh, pig, feorh, life, holh, hole, mearh, horse, seolh, seal, wealh, foreigner*.

4. Between vowels, as *ēa* (OHG. *aha*), *water, river*; *ēam* (OHG. *ōheim*), *uncle*; *ēar* (Nth. *æhher*, OHG. *ahir*), *ear of corn*; *fīean* from **fleahan*, older **flahan*, *to flay*; and similarly *lēan*, *to blame*; *slēan* (Goth. *slahan*), *to slay*; *þwēan* (Goth. *þwahan*), *to wash*; *fīeon* (OHG. *fliohan*), *to flee*; *fōn* (Goth. *fāhan*), *to seize*; *hōn* (Goth. *hāhan*), *to hang*; *līon, lēon* (OHG. *lihan*), *to lend*; *nēar* from **nēahur*, *near*; *sēon* from **seohan*, older **sehan* (OHG. *sehan*), *to see*; *sīon, sēon* (OHG. *sīhan*), *to strain*; *slā* beside older *slāhæ* (OHG. *slēha*), *sloe*; *swēor* (OHG. *swehur*), *father-in-law*; *tā* beside older *tāhæ* (OHG. *zēha*), *toe*; *tēar* (Nth. *tæhher*, OHG. *zahar*), *tear*; *þion, þeon*

(Goth. *þeihan*), *to thrive*; sing. gen. *fēos*, *plēos*, beside nom. *feoh*, *cattle*, *property*, *pleoh*, *danger*; pl. nom. *hēa* from **hēahe*, beside sing. *hēah*, *high*. In Anglian loss of *h* and contraction took place earlier than the syncope of *i(e)*, as *fliþ* from **flihiþ*, *he flees*, *fæþ*, *he seizes*, *sīs(t)* from **sihis*, *thou seest*, *sīþ* from **sihiþ*, *he sees*, *hēsta* from **hēhista*, *highest*, *nēsta* from **nēhista*, *nearest*, beside WS. *fliēþ*, *fēhþ*, *siehst*, *siehþ*, *hiēhsta*, *nīehsta*.

ACCIDENCE

CHAPTER XI

NOUNS

§ 330. IN OE. as in the oldest periods of the other Germanic languages, nouns are divided into two great classes, according as the stem originally ended in a vowel or a consonant, cp. the similar division of nouns in Sanskrit, Latin and Greek. Nouns whose stems originally ended in a vowel belong to the vocalic or so-called strong declension. Those whose stems originally ended in *-n* belong to the weak declension. All other consonantal stems will be put together under the general heading, 'Minor Declensions.'

§ 331. Owing to the loss of final short vowels, and consonants, in prehistoric OE. (§§ 211-16), several different kinds of stems regularly fell together in the nom. and acc. singular, so that, from the point of view of OE., the nom. and acc. singular end in consonants, and we are only able to classify such stems either by starting out from prim. Germanic, or from the plural, or from a comparison with the other old Germanic languages; thus the OE. nom. and acc. singular of *dæg*, *day*; *word*, *word*; *dæl*, *part*; *hand*, *hand*; *lamb*, *lamb*, correspond to prim. Germanic **dagaz*, **dagān*, older *-os*, *-om*; **wurđan*, older *-om*; **ðailiz*, **ðailin*, older *-is*, *-im*; **χandūz* (Goth. *handus*), **χandūn* (Goth. *handu*), older *-us*, *-um*; **lambaz*, older *-os* (cp. Lat. *genus*, gen. *generis*). The original distinction between the nom. and acc. singular of masculine and feminine nouns had disappeared in the oldest period of the English lan-

guage except in the *ō*- and the *n*-stems. And the original distinction between the nom. and acc. plural of masculine and feminine nouns had also disappeared, as nom. acc. *dagas*, *days*, *ēste*, *favours*, *sunā*, *sons*, but Goth. nom. *dagōs*, *ansteis*, *sunjus*; acc. *dagans*, *anstins*, *sununs*; *guman*, *men*, prim. Germanic nom. **gumaniz*, acc. **gumanunz*; *fēt*, *feet*, prim. Germanic nom. **fōtiz*, acc. Goth. *fotuns*. In like manner the original case endings of the *n*-stems, with the exception of the nom. singular and the gen. and dat. plural, had also disappeared in the oldest English, so that the element which originally formed part of the stem came to be regarded as a case ending (§§ 211-15), cp. the similar process in the plural of the neuter *-os*-stems (§§ 419-20). Before attempting the OE. declensions from a philological point of view, the student should master the chapter on the vowels of unaccented syllables, because it is impossible to restate in this chapter all the details dealt with there.

§ 332. OE. nouns have two numbers: singular and plural; three genders: masculine, feminine, and neuter, as in the other old Germanic languages from which the gender of nouns in OE. does not materially differ; five cases: Nominative, Accusative, Genitive, Dative, and Instrumental. The dat. is generally used for the instr. in OE., so that this case is omitted in the paradigms, see § 334, Note. The vocative is like the nominative. The nom. and acc. plural are always alike; in those declensions which would regularly have different forms for the nom. and acc., the acc. disappeared and the nom. was used in its stead. Traces of an old locative occur in what is called the uninflected dat. singular of *hām*, *home*. In Northumbrian both the declension and gender of nouns fluctuated considerably as compared with the other OE. dialects.

A. THE VOCALIC OR STRONG DECLENSION.

I. THE *a*-DECLENSION.

§ 333. The *a*-declension comprises masculine and neuter nouns only, and corresponds to the Latin and Greek *o*-declension (Lat. masc. *-us*, neut. *-um*, Gr. *-os*, *-ov*), for which reason it is sometimes called the *o*-declension. The *a*-declension is divided into pure *a*-stems, *ja*-stems, and *wa*-stems.

a. PURE *a*-STEMS.

§ 334.

Masculine.

SING.

Nom. Acc.	<i>stān</i> , <i>stone</i>	<i>dæg</i> , <i>day</i>	<i>mearh</i> , <i>horse</i>
Gen.	<i>stānes</i>	<i>dæges</i>	<i>mēares</i>
Dat.	<i>stāne</i>	<i>dæge</i>	<i>mēare</i>

PLUR.

Nom. Acc.	<i>stānas</i>	<i>dagas</i>	<i>mēaras</i>
Gen.	<i>stāna</i>	<i>daga</i>	<i>mēara</i>
Dat.	<i>stānum</i>	<i>dagum</i>	<i>mēarum</i>

NOTE.—The gen. sing. ended in *-æs* in the oldest period of the language, and in late OE. occasionally in *-as*, *-ys*. The oldest ending of the dat. sing. is *-æ*. The dat. sing. is generally used for the instrumental, so that this case is omitted in the paradigms. In the oldest period of the language the instrumental (originally a locative) ended in *-i*, later *-y*, and corresponded to the Gr. loc. ending *οἶκ-ει*, *at home*, not to *οἶκ-ου* which would have become *-e* in OE. as in the dat. (§ 217). In late OE. the dat. pl. ended in *-un*, *-on*, *-an* (§ 284).

The prim. Germanic forms of *dæg* were: Sing. nom. **ḍagaz*, acc. **ḍagan*, gen. **ḍagesa* or **ḍagasa* (with pronominal ending, § 465), dat. **ḍagai*, instr. **ḍagi*; Plural nom. **ḍagōz* (cp. Goth. *dagōs*), acc. **ḍaganz* (cp. Goth. *dagans*), gen. **ḍagōn* (cp. Gr. *θεῶν*, *of gods*), dat. **ḍagomiz*.

From what has been said in chapter VI on the vowels of unaccented syllables it will be seen that all the forms of the singular and plural, except the nom. acc. pl., are regularly developed from the corresponding prim. Germanic forms. The pl. ending *-as*, OS. *-os*, *-as*, beside OHG. *-a*, has never been satisfactorily explained. The most probable explanation is that it represents the ending of nouns which originally had the accent on the ending like Skr. *gharmás*, *heat* = Gr. *θερμός*, *hot*, and that this ending then came to be used also for nouns which originally had the accent on the stem. That some nouns had the accent on the ending in prim. Germanic is proved by such words as OE. *cēosan*, *to choose*, beside *cyre* from **kuzís* (§ 252), *choice*, which at a later period shifted the accent and dropped the final *-s* (? *-z*) after the analogy of nouns which originally had the accent on the stem. Upon this supposition the ending *-as* would regularly correspond to prim. Germanic pl. nom. *-ōs* or acc. *-āns*. In like manner is to be explained the retention of the final *-s* in the second pers. sing. of the present tense of strong verbs in the West Germanic languages, cp. OE. *nimes(t)*, OS. OHG. *nimis*, beside Goth. *nimis*, *thou takest* (§ 476). The usual explanation that *-as* corresponds to an early Aryan double plural ending *-āsas* from older *-ōses* with *-es* from the consonant stems, is not in accordance with our present knowledge of the history of short vowels in final syllables in the oldest period of the various Germanic languages. An original ending *-ōses* would have become *-or* in OE.

§ 335. Like *stān* are declined by far the greater majority of monosyllabic *a*-stems, as *āel*, *eel*; *ād*, *funeral pile*; *āp*, *oath*; *bæst*, *bast*; *bār*, *boar*; *bāt*, *boat*; *bēag*, *ring*, *bracelet*; *bēam*, *tree*; *beard*, *beard*; *bearm*, *bosom*; *bēod*, *table*; *beorg*, *hill*; *beorn*, *warrior*; *bōg*, *bough*; *bolt*, *bolt*; *borg*, *pledge*; *brāþ*, *odour*; *brand*, *firebrand*; *brōm*, *broom* (*the plant*); *būc*, *stomach*; *camb*, *comb*; *cēac*, *jug*; *cēap*,

price; *cēol*, *ship*; *ceorl*, *churl*; *clām* (NE. dial. *cloam*), *mud*; *clāp*, *cloth*; *clūt*, *patch*; *cniht*, *boy*; *cræft*, *skill*, *strength*; *cwealm*, *death*; *dōm*, *doom*; *drēam*, *joy*, *revelry*; *dweorg*, *dwarf*; *earm*, *arm*; *earn*, *eagle*; *eorl*, *nobleman*; *fisc*, *fish*; *flēam*, *flight*; *forsc*, *frog*; *forst*, *frost*; *fox*, *fox*; *gang*, *going*; *gāst*, *spirit*; *gēac*, *cuckoo*; *geard*, *yard*; *gielp*, *boasting*; *hæft*, *captive*; *hām*, *home*; *healm*, *haulm*; *heals*, *neck*; *helm*, *helmet*; *hlæst*, *burden*; *hlāf*, *loaf*; *hōf*, *hoof*; *hrēam*, *cry*, *shout*, *uproar*; *hrīm*, *rime*; *hring*, *ring*; *hund*, *dog*; *hwelp*, *whelp*; *lāst*, *footprint*; *mæst*, *mast*; *mōr*, *moor*; *mūþ*, *mouth*; *rāp*, *rope*; *rūm*, *room*; *sceaft*, *shaft*; *sēam*, *seam*; *stōl*, *stool*; *storm*, *storm*; *strēam*, *stream*; *torn*, *grief*; *þanc*, *thought*; *þeof*, *thief*; *þorp*, *þrop*, *farm*, *village*; *weg*, *way*; *wer*, *man*; *wulf*, *wolf*.

See § 259 on nouns whose stems ended in double consonants: *bucc*, *buck*; *cocc*, *cock*; *codd*, *cod*, *husk*; *coss*, *kiss*; *cnoll*, *knoll*; *cropp*, *sprout*; *hnæpp*, *cup*; *hwamm*, *corner*; *pott*, *pot*; *sceatt*, *property*, *money*; *smocc*, *smock*; *swamm*, *fungus*; *weall*, *wall*.

§ 336. Like *dæg* are declined *pæþ*, *path*; *stæf*, *staff*; *hwæl*, *whale*, see §§ 54, 57. *mæg*, *kinsman*, pl. *māgas* (§ 120) beside *māgas* with *æ* from the singular.

§ 337. Like *meorh* are declined *ealh*, *temple*; *eolh*, *elk*; *fealh*, *pig*, *boar*; *healh*, *corner*; *sealh*, *willow*; *seolh*, *seal* (*animal*); *wealh*, *foreigner*, see § 149. *scōh*, *shoe*, gen. *scōs*, dat. *scō*, pl. *scōs*, see § 139; and similarly *slōh* (also fem. and neut.), *slough*, *mire*; *eoh* (also neut.), *horse*, gen. *eōs*, dat. *ēo*. *horh* (also neut.), *dirt*, gen. *horwes*, dat. *horwe*, beside *hōres*, *hōre*; pl. *horwu* (neut.) beside *hōras*, see § 239.

§ 338. SING.

Nom. Acc.	<i>cyning</i> , <i>king</i>	<i>engel</i> , <i>angel</i>	<i>heofon</i> , <i>heaven</i>
Gen.	<i>cyninges</i>	<i>engles</i>	<i>heofones</i>
Dat.	<i>cyninge</i>	<i>engle</i>	<i>heofone</i>

PLUR.

Nom. Acc.	cyningas	englas	heofenas
Gen.	cyninga	engla	heofena
Dat.	cyningum	englum	heofenum

The vowel in the medial syllable generally disappeared in the inflected forms of dissyllabic words when the first syllable was long and the second short. It also generally disappeared when the first syllable was short and the second syllable ended in vocalic *i*, *m*, *n* in West Germanic (§ 219). On the retention or the loss of the medial vowel in the inflected forms of dissyllabic words, see § 221.

§ 339. Like *cyning* are declined *æcer*, *field*; *cocer*, *quiver*; *hærfest*, *autumn*; *hengest*, *horse*. *brīdels*, *bridle*; *fætels*, *vessel*, *tub*; for other examples of nouns ending in *-els*, see § 598. *æpeling*, *prince*; *cnæpling*, *youth*; *gædeling*, *companion*; *lýtling*, *child*; for other examples of nouns ending in *-ling*, see § 607.

§ 340. Like *engel* are declined *æled*, *fire*; *angel*, *fish-hook*; *āpum*, *son-in-law*; *bealdor*, *prince*; *bīetel*, *mallet*; *blōstm*, *blossom*; *bolster* (also neut.), *bolster*; *bōsm*, *bosom*; *brēmel*, *bramble*; *dēofol*, *devil*; *dryhten*, *lord*; *ealdor*, *prince*; *finger*, *finger*; *hleahtr*, *laughter*; *māpum*, *treasure*; *morgen*, *morning*; *ōfer*, *shore*; *þȳmel*, *thimble*, *thumbstall*; *wæstm*, *growth*.

botm, *bottom*; *ellen* (also neut.), *zeal*, *courage*, *strength*; *fæpm*, *embrace*; *fugol*, *bird*, *fowl*; *hæg(e)l*, *hagol*, *hail*; *ofen*, *oven*; *nægl*, *nail*; *reg(e)n*, *rain*; *peg(e)n*, *thane*.

But nouns like *bulluc*, *bullock*; *cassuc*, *sedge*; *langoþ*, *longing* (for other examples of nouns ending in *-oþ*, *-aþ*, see § 595); *mattuc*, *mattock*; *pearroc*, *park*, generally retain the medial vowel.

§ 341. Like *heofon* are declined *bydel*, *beadle*; *cradol*, *cradle*; *daroþ*, *dart*, *spear*; *eodor*, *enclosure*; *eofor*, *boar*; *hafoc*, *heafoc*, *hawk*; *hamor*, *hammer*; *heorot*, *stag*, *hart*;

metod, *Creator*; roðor, *sky*; sadol, *saddle*; stapol, *pillar*; þunor, *thunder*. On the variation of the vowel in the medial syllable, see § 222.

§ 342.

Neuter.

SING.

Nom. Acc.	word, <i>word</i>	hof, <i>dwelling</i>	fæt, <i>vessel</i>
Gen.	wordes	hofes	fætēs
Dat.	worde	hofs	fæte

PLUR.

Nom. Acc.	word	hofu	fatu
Gen.	worda	hofa	fata
Dat.	wordum	hofum	fatum

The neuter *a*-stems had the same endings as the masculine except in the nom. and acc. plural. The prim. Germanic ending of the nom. acc. plural was *-ō* which became *-u* and then regularly disappeared after long stem-syllables (§ 215). In late OE. the long stems often had *-u* in the plural after the analogy of the short stems.

§ 343. Like *word* are declined a large number of monosyllables with long stem, as *ār*, *brass*; *bā1*, *funeral pile*; *bān*, *bone*; *bearn*, *child*; *bēor*, *beer*; *blōd*, *blood*; *bold*, *dwelling*; *bord*, *board*; *brēost*, *breast*; *corn*, *corn*; *dēor*, *wild animal*; *dūst*, *dust*; *fām*, *foam*; *fearn*, *fern*; *feax*, *hair*; *fleax*, *flax*; *folc*, *folk*; *gēar*, *year*; *gearn*, *yarn*; *gield*, *payment*; *gold*, *gold*; *hord* (also masc.), *treasure*, *hoard*; *horn*, *horn*; *hors*, *horse*; *hrēod*, *reed*; *hrīs*, *twig*; *hūs*, *house*; *īs*, *ice*; *lām*, *clay*; *land*, *land*; *lēaf*, *leaf*; *lēan*, *reward*; *lēoþ*, *song*, *poem*; *lic*, *body*; *lin*, *flax*, *linen*; *mān*, *crime*; *mōd*, *mind*, *courage*; *morþ*, *murder*; *nēat*, *ox*; *nest*, *nest*; *nīþ*, *enmity*; *sār*, *pain*; *scēap*, *sheep*; *seax*, *knife*; *sweord*, *sword*; *tōl*, *tool*; *þing*, *thing*;

weorc, *work*; **weorþ**, *worth, price*; **wif**, *woman*. And similarly words with a prefix, as **behāt**, *promise*; **gebeorc**, *barking*. See § 259 on nouns whose stems ended in double consonants: **fell**, *skin*; **full**, *cup*; **toll**, *tax, toll*.

§ 344. Like **hof** are declined **broc**, *affliction*; **broþ**, *broth*; **ceaf**, *chaff*; **col**, *coal*; **dor**, *door*; **geoc**, *yoke*; **god**, *god (heathen)*; **hol**, *hole*; **loc**, *lock*; **lot**, *deceit*; **sol**, *mud*; **spor**, *track*. And similarly words with a prefix, as **bebod**, *command*. **geat** (§ 72), *gate*, pl. **gatu** beside **geatu** with **ea** from the singular.

Nouns which have **e, i** in the stem originally had **u-, o/a**-umlaut in the plural, as **gebeodu**, *prayers*, gen. **gebeoda**, dat. **gebeodum**; and similarly **geset**, *seat, dwelling*; **gesprec**, *speaking*, see § 48. **cliofu**, *cliffs*, gen. **cliofa**, dat. **cliofum**; and similarly **brim**, *sea*; **hlid**, *lid*; **lim**, *limb*; **scip**, *ship*; **twig**, *twig*; **gefit**, *strife*; **gewrit**, *writing, letter*. **frip** (OHG. *fridu*), *peace*, and **liþ** (Goth. *lipus*), *limb*, were originally masc. **u**-stems. See §§ 101-2.

§ 345. Like **fæt** are declined **bæc**, *back*; **bæþ**, *bath*; **blæc**, *ink*; **blæd**, *leaf*; **bræs**, *brass*; **cræt**, *cart*; **dæl**, *dale*; **fæc**, *period of time, space*; **fær**, *journey*; **fnæd**, *fnæs*, *fringe*; **gærs** from older **græs*, *grass*; **glæs**, *glass*; **græf**, *grave, cave*; **hæf**, *sea*; **sæp**, *sap*; **scræf**, *cave*; **swæþ**, *track*; **træf**, *tent*; **þæc**, *thatch, roof*; **wæd**, *water, sea*; **wæ!**, *slaughter*. See §§ 54, 57.

§ 346. **flāh**, *fraud*, gen. **flās**, dat. **flā**; **þēoh**, *thigh*, gen. **þēos**, dat. **þēo**, pl. **þēo**, gen. **þēo**, dat. **þēom**; **pleoh**, *danger*, gen. **plēos**, dat. **plēo**, pl. **plēo**; **holh**, *hollow, hole*, gen. **hōles**, dat. **hōle**, pl. **holh**, see § 149. **feoh**, *cattle*, originally belonged to the **u**-declension (§ 399).

§ 347. SING.

Nom. Acc.	tungol , <i>star</i>	wæter , <i>water</i>	hēafod , <i>head</i>
Gen.	tungles	wæteres	hēafdes
Dat.	tungle	wætere	hēafde

PLUR.

Nom. Acc.	tungol	wæter	hēafodu
Gen.	tungla	wætera	hēafda
Dat.	tunglum	wæterum	hēafdum

Dissyllabic words which in West Germanic ended in vocalic *l*, *n*, *r* (§ 219) syncopated the medial vowel in the gen. and dat. sing. and plural and lost the final *-u* in the nom. and acc. plural when the stem-syllable was long. So that the nom. acc. sing. and plural became alike just as in the monosyllabic long stems. Original trisyllabic words (§ 223), and also dissyllabic words which in West Germanic ended in vocalic *n*, *r*, retained the medial vowel in the gen. and dat. sing. and plural, but lost the final *-u* in the nom. and acc. plural when the stem-syllable was short. Original trisyllabic words syncopated the medial vowel in the gen. and dat. sing. and plural, but retained the medial vowel and the final *-u* in the nom. and acc. plural when the stem-syllable was long. See §§ 216, 223.

NOTE.—In the later period of the language there was great fluctuation in the formation of the plural and in the loss or retention of the medial vowel, as nom. acc. plural *tunglu*, *wæt(e)ru*, *hēafdu* beside older *tungol*, *wæter*, *hēafodu*; gen. sing. *wætres* beside older *wæteres*.

§ 348. Like *tungol* are declined *ātor*, *poison*; *bēacen*, *beacon*; *cnōsl*, *race, progeny*; *fācen*, *deceit*; *fōdor*, *fodder*; *spātl*, *saliva*; *tācen*, *token*; *wāpen*, *weapon*; *wolcen*, *cloud*; *wuldor*, *glory*; *wundor*, *wonder*.

§ 349. Like *wæter* are declined *brāegen*, *brain*; *gamen*, *game, sport*; *leger*, *couch*; *māegen*, *strength*; *ofet*, *fruit*; *reced*, *house, hall*; *weder*, *weather*; *weorod*, *werod*, *troop*, pl. *weredu* (§ 222) beside *werod*. *setl*, *seat*, pl. *setlu* beside *setl*.

§ 350. Like *hēafod* are declined *clīewen*, *clīwen*, *ball of thread, clew*; *māeden*, *mægden*, *maiden*; *nieten*, *animal*.

b. ja-STEMS.

§ 351.

Masculine.

SING.

Nom. Acc.	secg, <i>man</i>	ende, <i>end</i>
Gen.	secges	endes
Dat.	secge	ende

PLUR.

Nom. Acc.	secg(e)as	endas
Gen.	secg(e)a	enda
Dat.	secg(i)um	endum

It is necessary to distinguish between those stems which were originally long and those which became long by the West Germanic doubling of consonants (§ 254). The *j* caused umlaut of the stem-vowel and then disappeared in the inflected forms except after *r* (§§ 271-2). When the *j* came to stand finally after the loss of prim. Germanic *-az*, *-an* it became vocalized to *i* which remained in the oldest period of the language, and then later became *e* (§§ 215, Note, 274), cp. *here*, *army*, *ende*, *end*, beside Goth. acc. *hari*, *andi*. The OE. forms with double consonants in the nom. and accusative singular are all new formations from the inflected forms. The regular forms would be **sege*, *man*; **dyne*, *noise* = Goth. acc. **sagi*, **duni*.

§ 352. Like *secg* are declined *bridd*, *young bird*; *cnyll*, *knell*; *dyn(n)*, *noise*; *hlyn(n)*, *loud sound*; *hrycg*, *back*, *ridge*; *hyll*, *hill*; *mæcg* (§ 55, Note 3), *man*; *mycg*, *midge*; *wecg*, *wedge*. See § 259.

§ 353. The *j* (written *i*, *g*, *ig*; also *ige* before a guttural vowel, § 268) remained medially after *r* preceded by a short vowel, as nom. acc. *here*, *army*; gen. *heries*, *herges*, *heriges*; dat. *herie*, *herge*, *herige*; pl. nom. acc. *herias*, *hergas*, *herigas*, *herigeas*; gen. *heria*, *heriga*, *herigea*; dat. *herium*, *herigum*. Forms without *j* also occur occasionally, as gen. *heres*, dat. *here*, pl. *heras*.

§ 354. Like *ende* are declined *esne*, *servant*; *hierde*, *shepherd*; *hwāte*, *wheat*; *læce*, *physician*; *mēce*, *sword*; and the nomina agentis, as *bæcere*, *baker*; *biddere*, *petitioner*; *bōcere*, *scribe*; *sādere*, *sower*; for further examples see § 602.

§ 355.

Neuter.

SING.

Nom. Acc. <i>cyn(n)</i> , <i>race</i>	<i>wīte</i> , <i>punishment</i>	<i>wēsten</i> , <i>desert</i>
Gen. <i>cynnes</i>	<i>wītes</i>	<i>wēstennes</i>
Dat. <i>cynne</i>	<i>wīte</i>	<i>wēstenne</i>

PLUR.

Nom. Acc. <i>cyn(n)</i>	<i>wītu</i>	<i>wēstennu</i>
Gen. <i>cynna</i>	<i>wīta</i>	<i>wēstenna</i>
Dat. <i>cynnum</i>	<i>wītum</i>	<i>wēstennum</i>

As in the masc. *ja*-stems it is necessary to distinguish between those stems which were originally long and those which became long by the West Germanic doubling of consonants (§ 254). The neuter *ja*-stems had the same endings as the masculine except in the nom. acc. plural. The nom. acc. plural ended in prim. Germanic in *-jō* which became *-ju* in prim. OE. The *j* regularly disappeared after causing umlaut of the preceding vowel. And then the *-u* being preceded by a long syllable also disappeared

215). The nom. acc. pl. of the originally short stems is regularly developed from the prim. Germanic form, as *cyn(n)* from **kunjō*. But the *-u* in the originally long stems and in words containing a suffix is not the preservation of the prim. OE. *-u*. Such nouns owe their final *-u* to the analogy of the nom. acc. pl. of short *a*-stems (§ 342). That forms like *wītu*, *wēstennu* are new formations is proved by the simple fact that from a Germanic point of view these nouns ought to have the same ending in OE. as the nom. acc. singular of the *jō*-stems (§ 374).

The OE. forms with double consonants in the nom. acc. singular are all new formations from the inflected forms, as *cyn(n)*, *bedd*, *nett* for **cyne*, **bede*, **nete* = Goth. *kuni*, *badi*, *nati*, see § 274. On the final double consonants in the nom. acc. singular, see § 259. In late OE. the double consonants in words containing a suffix were generally simplified in the inflected forms, and the medial vowel was also occasionally syncopated, as gen. *wēstenes*, pl. *wēstenu*, beside *wēstnu*.

§ 356. Like *cyn(n)* are declined *bedd*, *bed*; *bill*, *sword*; *denn*, *den*; *flett*, *floor*; *giedd*, *song*; *nebb*, *beak*; *nett*, *net*; *ribb*, *rib*; *webb*, *web*; *wedd*, *pledge*; *wicg*, *horse*; *witt*, *understanding*.

§ 357. Like *wīte* are declined *ærende*, *errand*; *fēpe*, *walking*, *power of motion*; *ierfe*, *inheritance*; *ierre*, *anger*; *rīce*, *kingdom*; *rȳne*, *mystery*; *stiele*, *steel*; *wæge*, *cup*; nouns with the prefix *ge-*, as *gefilde*, *plain*; *gefylce*, *troop*; *getieme*, *yoke (of oxen)*, *team*; *getimbre*, *building*; *gemierce*, *boundary*; *gewæde*, *dress*, *clothing*; *geþode*, *geþode*, *language*. *flicce*, prim. Germanic **flikkja-*, *fitch*; *stycce*, prim. Germanic **stukkja-*, *piece*. See § 270, Note, on nouns like *hieg* (Goth. *hawi*), *hay*, *hiew*, *hīw* (Goth. *hiwi*), *shape*, *appearance*, *glīg*, *glīw* (Goth. **gliwi*), *glee*, gen. *hīeges*, *hīewes* (*hīowes*), *glīges*, *glīwes*.

§ 358. Like *wēsten* are declined *fæsten(n)*, *fortress*, cp. § 600; *bærnet(t)*, *arson*; *nierwet(t)*, *narrowness*; *sāwet(t)*, *sowing*; *þēowet(t)*, *slavery*; for further examples, see § 604. To this class probably also belong the diminutives in *-incel*, which generally syncopate the *e* in the inflected forms, as *cofincel*, *little chamber*, gen. *cofincles*; and similarly *hæftincel*, *slave*; *hūsincel*, *little house*; *scipincel*, *little ship*; *sūlincel*, *small furrow*; for further examples, see § 606. *fīpere*, *wing*.

c. wa-STEMS.

§ 359.

Masculine.

SING.

Nom. Acc.	bearu, -o, <i>grove</i>	þēo, <i>servant</i>
Gen.	bearwes	þeowes
Dat.	bearwe	þeowe

PLUR.

Nom. Acc.	bearwas	þeowas
Gen.	bearwa	þeowa
Dat.	bearwum	þeowum

In the inflected forms the masc. wa-stems have the same endings as the pure a-stems. After the loss of prim. Germanic *-az*, *-an* in the nom. and acc. singular, the *w* being final became vocalized to *-u* which remained after short vowels followed by a consonant, but with a preceding short vowel it combined to form a diphthong (§§ 264-5); thus prim. Germanic **barwaz*, *-an*, **pewaz*, *-an* regularly became *bearu* (later *bearo*), *þēo*. After a long vowel the *-u* regularly disappeared, as in *snā*, *snow*, from **snaiwaz*, *-an*. At a later period the *w* in the inflected forms was levelled out into the nom. acc. singular, whence *þēow*, *snāw* beside older *þēo*, *snā*. And then from *þēow* there was often formed a new gen. *þēowes* beside the regular form *þeowes* (§ 265). On forms like gen. *bearuwes* beside *bearwes*, see § 220.

§ 360. Like *þēo*, *þēow* are declined *bēaw*, *gadfly*; *dēaw* (also neut.), *dew*; *lārēow* from *lād* + *þēow*, *teacher*; *lāttēow* from *lād* + *þēow*, *leader*; *þēaw*, *custom*; *brīw* (Goth. **breiws*), *pottage*, *porridge*; *gīw*, *gēow*, *griffin*, *vulture*; *iw*, *iow*, *ēow*, *yew*; *sliw* (Goth. **sleiws*), *tench* (a fish).

§ 361.

Neuter.

SING.

Nom. Acc.	bealu, -o, <i>evil</i>	cnēo, <i>knee</i>
Gen.	bealwes	cneowes
Dat.	bealwe	cneowe

PLUR.

Nom. Acc.	bealu, -o	cnēo
Gen.	bealwa	cneowa
Dat.	bealwum	cneowum

The neuter **wa**-stems have the same endings as the masculine except in the nom. acc. plural. What has been said in § 359 about the history of the **w** also applies to the neuters. It should be noted that the nom. acc. plural **bealu**, **cnēo** are from older ***beal(w)u**, ***kne(w)u** (§ 266), whereas the nom. acc. sing. **bealu**, **cnēo**, are from older ***bealw-**, ***knew-** (§ 265). On the svarabhakti vowel in the inflected forms like gen. **bealuwes** beside **bealwes**, see § 220. Besides the regular nom. acc. pl. **cnēo**, there also occurs **cnēow** with **w** from the inflected forms; and also **cnēowu** with **-u** from forms like **bealu**. In late OE. the pl. also ended in **-wa**.

§ 362. Like **bealu** are declined **c(w)uðu**, *cud*; **teoru**, *tar*; **meolu**, **melu**, *meal*, *flour*; **searu**, *device*; **smeoru**, *fat*.

§ 363. Like **cnēo**, **cnēow** are also declined **anclēow** (orig. masc.), *ankle*; **bēow**, *barley*; **gehlōw**, *lowing*, *bellowing*; **gehrēow**, *lamentation*; **hlēo(w)**, *protection*, *covering*; **sēaw** (also masc.), *juice*; **strēa(w)**, *straw*; **trēo(w)**, *tree*.

2. THE **ō**-DECLENSION.

§ 364. The **ō**-declension contains feminine nouns only, and corresponds to the Latin and Greek **ā**-declension, for which reason it is sometimes called the **ā**-declension. The **ō**-declension is divided into pure **ō**-stems, **jō**-stems, and **wō**-stems.

a. PURE \bar{o} -STEMS.

§ 365. SING.

Nom.	giefu, -o, <i>gift</i>	ār, <i>honour</i>
Acc.	giefe	āre
Gen.	giefe	āre
Dat.	giefe	āre

PLUR.

Nom. Acc.	giefe, -a	āre, -a
Gen.	giefa, (-ena)	āra, (-na, -ena)
Dat.	giefum	ārum

The prim. Germanic forms were : Sing. nom. * $\text{geb}\bar{o}$, acc. * $\text{geb}\bar{o}n$ (cp. Gr. $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\acute{\alpha}\nu$), gen. * $\text{geb}\bar{o}z$ (Goth. $\text{gib}\bar{o}s$), dat. * gebai ; Plur. nom. acc. * $\text{geb}\bar{o}z$ (Goth. $\text{gib}\bar{o}s$), gen. * $\text{geb}\bar{o}n$ (Goth. $\text{gib}\bar{o}$), dat. * $\text{geb}\bar{o}miz$ (Goth. $\text{gib}\bar{o}m$). The acc. gen. and dat. sing. and the nom. acc. pl. regularly fell together in -æ in prehistoric OE. (§ 217). The -æ remained in the oldest period of the language and then later regularly became -e. In the nom. sing. the - \bar{o} became -u and then regularly disappeared after long stem-syllables (§ 215). In late OE. the gen. sing. often ended in -es after the analogy of the masc. a-stems; and sometimes the nom. of the short stems was used for all cases of the singular. The regular ending of the gen. pl. is -a, but in late OE. the gen. pl. often ended in -(e)na after the analogy of the n-stems (§ 403). On the ending -um of the dat. plural, see § 218, 5. It is difficult to account for the -a in the nom. acc. pl. in WS. and Ken., and for the -a in the oblique cases of the fem. nouns ending in -ung in these dialects. Seeing that the gen. sing. and nom. pl. originally had the same ending - $\bar{o}z$ and that both cases ended in -æ in the oldest OE., the -a in the nom. pl. cannot be a regular development from older -æ. It is sometimes assumed that -a is the regular

development of prim. Germanic -ōz in OE., and that what is called the gen. sing. is morphologically the dat., but against this assumption it should be pointed out that in the oldest period of the language the gen. and dat. sing. and nom. plural had all the same ending. Short stems with *a* often have *æ* beside *a* in the acc. gen. and dat. sing. and nom. acc. pl., as *læpe*, *ræce*, beside *laþe*, *race*.

§ 366. Like *giefu* are declined *caru*, *care*; *coþu*, *disease*; *cwalu*, *violent death*; *daru*, *injury*; *denu*, *valley*; *faru*, *journey*; *hogu*, *solicitude*; *laþu*, *invitation*; *lufu* (also weak), *love*; *nafu*, *nave (of wheel)*; *notu*, *use*; *racu*, *account, narrative*; *rudu*, *redness*; *sacu*, *strife*; *sagu*, *saw*; *sc(e)amu*, *shame*; *scinu*, *shin*; *scolu*, *troop*; *snoru*, *daughter-in-law*; *stalu*, *theft*; *swaþu*, *track*; *talū*, *tale, number*; *þracu*, *violence, combat*; *waru*, *people*; *wracu*, *revenge*; &c.

§ 367. Like *ār* are declined a large number of nouns, as *æsp*, *aspen-tree*; *bād*, *pledge*; *bær*, *bier*; *beorc*, *birch-tree*; *bōt*, *advantage*; *brōd*, *brood*; *eax*, *axis*; *eaxl*, *shoulder*; *fēol*, *file*; *gād*, *goad*; *glōf*, *glove*; *heall*, *hall*; *heord*, *herd*, *flock*; *hwil*, *space of time*; *lād*, *way, journey*; *lāf*, *remnant*; *lār*, *learning*; *lēod*, *nation*; *lind*, *linden, shield*; *mearc*, *boundary*; *mēd*, *meord, reward*; *mund*, *hand*; *rād*, *ride, riding*; *reord*, *voice, language*; *rōd*, *cross*; *rūn*, *secret*; *scand*, *disgrace*; *scofl*, *shovel*; *sealf*, *ointment*; *sorg*, *sorrow*; *stund*, *period of time, hour*; *tang*, *tongs*; *pearf*, *need*; *þēod*, *nation*; *þrāg*, *time, period*; *wamb*, *stomach*; *weard*, *protection*; *wund*, *wound*; &c. *brū*, *eyebrow*, has nom. acc. pl. *brūa* beside *brūwa*, gen. *brūna*, dat. *brūum* beside *brūwum*.

§ 368. SING.

Nom.	<i>firen</i> , <i>crime</i>	<i>sāwol</i> , <i>soul</i>
Acc.	<i>firene</i>	<i>sāwle</i>
Gen.	<i>firene</i>	<i>sāwle</i>
Dat.	<i>firene</i>	<i>sāwle</i>

PLUR.

Nom.	Acc.	firene, -a	sāwle, -a
	Gen.	firena	sāwla
	Dat.	firenum	sāwlum

In originally trisyllabic words the final -u regularly disappeared in the nom. sing. when the stem and the medial syllable were short, but remained when the stem-syllable was long and the medial syllable short (§ 216). Then after the analogy of words like *firen*, the final -u was also dropped in words like *sāwol*. The medial vowel regularly disappeared in the inflected forms after long stems, but remained after short (§ 221). The nouns of this class do not have the ending -(e)na in the gen. plural.

§ 369. Like *firen* are declined *bisen*, *bisn*, *example*; *byden*, *bushel*; *ciefes*, *concubine*; *feter*, *fetter*; *feþer*, *feather*; *netel*, *nettle*; *spinel*, *spindle*; *stefn*, *voice*; but *egenu*, *chaff*.

§ 370. Like *sāwol* are declined *ādī*, *disease*; *ceaster*, *city*, *fortress*; *frōfor* (also masc.), *consolation*; *nædl*, *needle*; *wōcor*, *increase*, *usury*.

§ 371. Nom. *strengþu*, -o, *strength* *leornung*, *learning*
Acc. Gen. Dat. *strengþe* *leornunge*, -a

The fem. abstract nouns ending in prim. Germanic -iþō regularly syncopated the medial i (§ 221) and in the oldest period of the language retained the final -u in the nom. (§ 216). Then at a later period the -u (-o) was often dropped after the analogy of words like *ār* (§ 367). At a still later period the nom. with and without the final -o came to be used for all cases. The abstract nouns in -ung regularly syncopated the final -u in the nom. (§ 216).

§ 372. Like *strengþu*, -o, *strengþ* are declined *cýþþu*, *cýþþ*, *native country*; *fæþ(u)*, *feud*; *gesælp(u)*, *prosperity*;

hliewþ(u), *shelter*; mægþ(u), *family, kindred*; þiefþ(u), *theft*; wræþþ(u), *anger, wrath*; for further examples, see § 613.

§ 373. Like *leornung* are declined *æfnung, evening*; *æring, dawn*; *geþafung, consent*; *lēasung, falsehood*; *rihtung, direction*; *swinsung, melody*; *wēnung, hope, expectation*; for further examples, see § 615.

b. jō-STEMS.

§ 374. SING.

Nom.	hen(n), <i>hen</i>	gierd, <i>rod</i>
Acc.	henne	gierde
Gen.	henne	gierde
Dat.	henne	gierde

PLUR.

Nom. Acc.	henne, -a	gierde, -a
Gen.	henna	gierda
Dat.	hennum	gierdum

It is necessary to distinguish between those stems which were originally long and those which became long by the West Germanic doubling of consonants (§ 254). The *j* regularly disappeared after causing umlaut of the preceding vowel, and then the *-u* in the nom. sing. being preceded by a long stem also disappeared (§ 215), so that the endings of the *jō*-stems are the same as the long *ō*-stems except that the gen. pl. never has the ending *-(e)na* (§ 365). On the final double consonants in the nom. singular, see § 259.

§ 375. Like *hen(n)* are declined *benn, wound*; *brycg, bridge*; *bytt, flagon*; *cribb, crib*; *crycc, crutch*; *ecg, edge*; *hell, hell*; *nytt, use, profit*; *sciell, shell*; *secg, sword*; *sibb, relationship*; *slecg, sledge-hammer*; *synn, sin*; *syll, sill, threshold*; *wynn, joy*. On *hæcc, gate, hatch*; *sæcc, strife*, see § 55, Note 3.

§ 376. Like *gierd* are declined *æx, axe*; *bend* (also masc. and neut.), *band*; *blīps, bliss, bliss*; *hild, war, battle*; *hind, doe*; *līps, liss, favour, kindness*; *milts, mercy, kind-*

ness; *nift*, *niece*; *rest*, *rest*; *spræc*, *speech*, *language*; *wræc*, *vengeance*; *wylf*, *she-wolf*; *ȳþ*, *wave*. On the *g* in *cæg*, *key*; *ieg*, *island*, see §§ 270, 272.

§ 377. SING.

PLUR.

Nom. <i>byrþen(n)</i> , <i>burden</i>	<i>byrþenne</i> , -a
Acc. <i>byrþenne</i>	<i>byrþenne</i> , -a
Gen. <i>byrþenne</i>	<i>byrþenna</i>
Dat. <i>byrþenne</i>	<i>byrþennum</i>

In originally trisyllabic words the final *-u* in the nom. singular also regularly disappeared after the medial syllable which became long by the West Germanic doubling of consonants (§§ 216, 254). The nouns ending in *-en(n)* sometimes took *-u* again in the nom. sing. after the analogy of the short *ō*-stems. In late OE. the double consonants were often simplified in the inflected forms.

§ 378. Like *byrþen(n)* are declined *candel* (Lat. *can-dēla*), *candle*; *cnēoris(s)*, *generation*; *hægtes(s)*, *witch*; *biren*, *she-bear*; *fyxen*, *she-fox*; *gyden*, *goddess*; *pyften*, *female servant*; *wiergen*, *she-wolf*; *byrgen*, *tomb*; for further examples, see § 599. *cōlnes(s)*, *coolness*; *swift-nes(s)*, *swiftness*; *prīnes(s)*, *trinity*; for further examples, see § 609. *ræden(n)*, *arrangement*, *rule*; *hūs-ræden(n)*, *household*; for further examples, see § 610.

NOTE.—A few words simplified the double consonants at an early period and then added *-u* in the nom. singular after the analogy of the short *ō*-stems, as *hyrnetu* beside *hyrnet*, *hornet*; *ielsetu*, *swan*.

C. WŌ-STEMS.

§ 379. SING.

Nom. <i>beadu</i> , -o, <i>battle</i>	<i>mæd</i> , <i>meadow</i>
Acc. Gen. Dat. <i>beadwe</i>	<i>mædwe</i>

PLUR.

Nom. Acc. <i>beadwe</i> , -a	<i>mædwe</i> , -a
Gen. <i>beadwa</i>	<i>mædwa</i>
Dat. <i>beadwum</i>	<i>mædwum</i>

In the nom. singular the prim. Germanic ending *-wō* regularly became *-wu* (§ 214), then the *w* disappeared before the *-u* (§ 266). The *-u* remained after consonants preceded by an original short vowel, but disappeared after consonants preceded by a long vowel (§ 215). When the *-u* was preceded by *a* it combined with it to form a diphthong, as *clēa* from **cla(w)u*, *claw*, *prēa* from **pra(w)u*, *threat* (§ 75), pl. nom. acc. *clēa*, dat. *clēam* from **cla(w)um*; beside the regular nom. sing. forms *clēa*, *prēa* new nominatives *clawu*, *prawu* were made from the stem-form of the oblique cases. The final *-u* also regularly disappeared after long vowels and diphthongs (§ 215), but was restored again from the inflected forms already in the oldest period of the language, as *hrēow*, *repentance*; *stōw*, *place*; *trēow* (§ 90), *faith*, *truth*.

In the inflected forms the *wō*-stems had the same endings as the *ō*-stems except that they never had the ending *-(e)na* in the gen. plural. On the svarabhakti vowel in forms like gen. *beaduwe* beside *beadwe*, see § 220.

§ 380. Like *beadu* are declined *sinu*, *sionu*, *sinew*; *sceadu*, *shadow*; and the plurals *frætwe*, *ornaments*; *geatwe*, *armaments*, *armour*.

§ 381. Like *mæd* are declined *blōd(es)læs*, *blood-letting*, *bleeding*; *læs*, *pasture*.

✓ 3. FEMININE ABSTRACT NOUNS IN *-ī*.

§ 382. This declension comprises the fem. abstract nouns formed from adjectives. The stem originally ended in *-in*, and the nom. in *-ī*, cp. Goth. *mikilei*, *greatness*, *diupeī*, *depth*, formed from *mikils*, *great*, *diups*, *deep*, gen. *mikileins*, *diupeins* (weak declension). The *-in*, *-ī* were shortened to *-in*, *-i* in prehistoric OE. (§§ 211, 214), and then the *i* caused umlaut of the stem-vowel. But already in the oldest period of the language this class of nouns was remodelled on analogy with the short *ō*-stems (§ 365), so

that the nom. came to end in *-u*, later *-o*, and the oblique cases of the singular in *-e*. At a later period the new nominative came to be used for all forms of the singular and for the nom. acc. plural. Few nouns belonging to this class have a plural.

SING.	PLUR.
Nom. <i>strengu, -o, strength</i>	<i>strengē, -a; -u, -o</i>
Acc. <i>strengē, -u, -o</i>	"
Gen. "	<i>strenga</i>
Dat. "	<i>strengum</i>

§ 383. Like *strengu* are declined *bieḏlu*, *boldness*; *bierhtu*, *brightness*; *engu*, *narrowness*; *fyllu*, *fullness*; *hælu*, *health*; *hætu*, *heat*; *hyldu*, *favour*; *ieldu*, *age*; *menigu*, *mengu*, *multitude*; *oferfierru*, *great distance*; *snytru*, *wisdom*; *piestru*, *darkness*; *wlencu*, *wlenc(e)o*, *pride*. See §§ 563, 614.

4. THE *i*-DECLENSION.

§ 384. The *i*-declension comprises masculine, feminine and neuter nouns, and corresponds to the Lat. and Gr. *i*-declension (nom. masc. and fem. Lat. *-is*, Gr. *-is*, acc. *-im*, *-iv*; neut. nom. acc. *-e, -i*).

a. *Masculine.*

§ 385. SING.

Nom. Acc.	<i>wine, friend</i>	<i>giest, guest</i>
Gen.	<i>wines</i>	<i>giestes</i>
Dat.	<i>wine</i>	<i>gieste</i>

PLUR.

Nom. Acc.	<i>wine, -as</i>	<i>giestas</i>
Gen.	<i>wini(ge)a, wina</i>	<i>giesta</i>
Dat.	<i>winum</i>	<i>giestum</i>

The prim. Germanic forms were: Sing. nom. **gastiz*, acc. **gastin*, gen. **gastaiz* (cp. Goth. *anstáis*), dat. **gastai* (cp.

Goth. *anstái*), loc. **gasti* from Indg. **ghostēi* ; Plur. nom. **gastiz* older *-ijiz* (Goth. *gasteis*), acc. **gastinz* (Goth. *gastins*), gen. **gasti(j)ōn*, dat. **gastimiz* (Goth. *gastim*). The endings *-iz*, *-in* of the nom. acc. sing. regularly became *-i* in prehistoric OE. The *-i* caused umlaut of the stem-vowel and then disappeared after long stems (§ 215), but remained after short stems and later became *-e* (§ 215, Note). The regular ending of the gen. sing. would be *-e* (§ 217), the *-es* is from the *a*-stems. The dat. sing. ended in *-i* (later *-e*) in the oldest OE. and corresponded to the locative ending *-ī* (§ 334, Note). The prim. Germanic nom. pl. ending *-īz* regularly became *-i*, later *-e*, which remained in the oldest period of the language. But already at an early period the nom. pl. was re-formed after the analogy of the masc. *a*-stems and then later the old ending *-e* was only preserved in a few plurals, especially in names of peoples, as *Dene*, *Danes* ; *Engle*, *the English* ; *Mierce* (gen. *Miercna*), *Mercians* ; *Norþhymbre*, *Northumbrians* ; *Seaxe* (gen. *Seaxna*), *Saxons* ; *ielde*, *men* ; *ielfe*, *elves* ; *liode*, *lēode*, *people*. The ending *-i(j)ōn* regularly became *-i(j)a* which has only been preserved in a few words with short stems, as *Deni(ge)a*, *wini(ge)a*. The ending *-a* is from the gen. pl. of the *a*- and consonantal stems. The dat. pl. would regularly have ended in *-im*, but it had *-um* from the other classes of nouns. Apart from the few words mentioned above, the long *i*-stems have the same endings as the masc. *a*-stems and are only distinguishable from them by the presence or absence of umlaut.

§ 386. Like *wine* are declined a large number of nouns, as *bile*, *beak* ; *bite*, *bite* ; *bryce*, *breach* ; *bryne*, *burning* ; *byge*, *curve* ; *byre*, *son* ; *ciele*, *cold* ; *cyme*, *advent* ; *cyre*, *choice* ; *cwide*, *saying*, *speech* ; *dene*, *valley* ; *drepe*, *stroke*, *blow* ; *dryre*, *fall* ; *dyne*, *din* ; *flyge*, *flight* ; *gripe*, *grasp* ; *gryre*, *terror* ; *gyte*, *pouring forth* ; *hæle* (orig. a cons. stem, see § 414), *man*, *hero* ; *hefe*, *weight* ; *hege*, *hedge* ;

hrine, *touch*; hryre, *fall*; hyge, *mind*; hype, *hip*; hyse (pl. hys(s)as), *youth, son*; ile (pl. il(l)as), *sole of the foot*; lyge, *falsehood*; lyre, *loss*; mere (orig. neut.), *lake, pool*; mete (pl. mettass), *food*; myne, *memory*; ryge, *rye*; ryne, *course*; scyfe, *shove*; scyte, *shooting*; sele, *hall*; sice, *sigh*; slege, *stroke, blow*; slide, *slip*; slite, *slit*; snide, *incision*; stæpe, *step*; stede, *place*; stice, *stitch*; stige, *ascent*; stride, *stride*; swyle, *swelling*; pyle, *orator*; wlite, *brightness, beauty*. bēorscipe, *feast*; for further examples, see § 611. bere (Goth. *baris), *barley*; ege (Goth. agis), *fear*; hete (Goth. hatis), *hate*; mene, *necklace*; sige (Goth. sigis), *victory*, originally belonged to the neuter -os, -es-declension (§ 419). ele (Lat. oleum), *oil*, was also originally neuter.

§ 387. Like giest are declined a large number of nouns, as ærist (also fem.), *resurrection*; æsc, *ash-tree*; blæd, *blast, breath*; blæst, *blast*; brygd, *brandishing*; byht, *bend*; byrst, *loss*; ciern, *clamour*; cierr, *turn, change*; dæl, *part*; drenc, *drink*; dynt, *dint*; ent, *giant*; feng, *grasp*; fiell, *fall*; fierst, *period of time*; flyht, *flight*; fyrs, *furze*; glæm, *gleam*; gylt, *guilt*; hliēp, *leap*; hlyst (also fem.), *sense of hearing*; hwyrft, *turning, circuit*; hyht, *hope*; læst, *track*; lēc, *sight, looking at*; lieg, *flame*; list, *skill, cunning*; lyft (also fem.), *air*; mæw, *seagull*; pliht, *danger, peril*; sæl (also fem.), *time*; scenc, *cup, draught*; sliht, *slaughter*; smiec, *smoke*; stenc, *odour*; steng, *pole*; stiehl, *leap*; streng, *string*; swēg, *sound, noise*; swylt, *death*; tyht, *training, instruction*; pyrs, *giant*; wæg, *wave*; wiell, *spring*; wielm, *boiling*; wrenc, *trick, stratagem*; wurm, *worm*.

§ 388. sǣ, prim. Germanic *saiwiz, *sea*, gen. sǣs, dat. sǣ, pl. nom. acc. sǣs, gen. *sǣwa, dat. sǣm beside sǣwum (a new formation); also fem. gen. dat. sǣ beside sǣwe; drȳ, *magician*, gen. drȳs, dat. drȳ, pl. nom. acc. drȳas, dat. drȳum. On the contracted forms, see §§ 139, 142.

b. Feminine.

§ 389. SING.	PLUR.
Nom. Acc. <i>cwēn, queen</i>	<i>cwēne</i>
Gen. <i>cwēne</i>	<i>cwēna</i>
Dat. <i>cwēne</i>	<i>cwēnum</i>

The masc. and fem. i-stems were originally declined alike in the sing. and plural. The nom. pl. and the whole of the sing. are regularly developed from the corresponding prim. Germanic forms, as sing. **kwāniz*, **kwānin*, **kwānaiz*, **kwānai*, nom. pl. **kwāniz*. The gen. and dat. pl. were new formations as in the masc. i-stems. In early Nth. and then later also in WS. and Ken. the acc. sing. often had *-e* after the analogy of the *ō*-stems; and in like manner the nom. acc. pl. often had *-a* already in early OE.

§ 390. Like *cwēn* are declined *āht, property*; *ansien, face*; *bēn, prayer*; *benc, bench*; *brȳd, bride*; *cȳf, tub*; *cyst, choice*; *dād, deed*; *dryht, troop*; *ēst, favour*; *fierd, army*; *fȳst, fist*; *glēd, live coal*; *hæs, command*; *hȳd, hide, skin*; *hȳf, hive*; *hyrst, ornament*; *meaht, miht, might, power*; *nīed, need*; *scyld, guilt*; *spēd, success*; *sȳl, pillar*; *tīd, time*; *prȳþ, strength*; *wād, garment*; *wēn, hope, expectation*; *wist, sustenance, food*; *wyrd, fate*; *wyrt, vegetable, herb*; *ȳst, storm*. *dugup, strength, geogup, youth, ides, woman*, which originally belonged to this declension, went over into the *ō*-declension.

NOTE.—*ā*, prim. Germanic **aiwiz, divine law*, generally remains uninflected in the sing. and in the nom. acc. plural, but beside the gen. dat. sing. *ā* there also exists *āwe* from which a new nom. *āw* was formed.

§ 391. A certain number of nouns, which originally belonged to the fem. i-declension, partly or entirely became neuter and were then declined like *cynn* (§ 355) or *hof* (§ 342) in the singular, and like *hof* in the plural. Such nouns are: *fulwiht, fulluht, baptism*; *grīn, snare, noose*;

oferhygd, *pride*; wiht, wuht, *thing, creature*; nouns with the prefix *ge-*, as *gebyrd, birth*; *gecynd, nature, kind*; *gehygd, mind*; *gemynd, memory*; *gesceaft, creation*; *geþeahht, thought*; *geþyld, patience*; *gewyrht, merit, desert*; pl. *gedryhtu, elements*; *giftu, gifts*. In late OE. other fem. *i*-stems also sometimes took the neut. plural ending *-u (-o)*.

c. Neuter.

§ 392. SING.

PLUR.

Nom. Acc. *spere, spear*

speru, -o

Gen. *speres*

spera

Dat. *spere*

sperum

The neuter *i*-stems had originally the same endings as the masculine except in the nom. acc. sing. and plural. The nom. acc. sing. ended in *-i* which regularly disappeared after long stems, but remained after short stems, and then later became *-e* (§ 215, Note). The nom. acc. pl. ended in *-ī* which would regularly have become *-i* (§ 214), later *-e*, after short stems, and disappeared after long stems. The nom. acc. pl. ending *-u (-o)* was due to the influence of the short neuter *a*-stems. The endings of the other cases are of the same origin as those of the masc. short *i*-stems. The regular form of the nom. acc. singular would be **spire* (§ 41) if *spere* originally belonged to the neuter *i*-declension.

§ 393. Like *spere* are declined *ofdæle, downward slope, descent*; *oferslege, lintel*; *orlege, fate*; *sife, sieve*. All these nouns probably belonged originally to the *-os-, -es-* declension (§ 419).

A certain number of neuter nouns which originally belonged partly to the neut. *ja*-stems, and partly to the *-os-, -es-* stems are declined like *spere*, except that the stem-syllable being long the final *-e* disappeared in the nom. acc. singular. Such nouns are: *flæsc, flesh*; *flīes, fleece*; *hæl, health*; *hilt* (also *māsc.*), *hilt*; *læn, loan*; *sweng, blow*.

gefēg, *joining, joint*; gegrynd, *plot of ground*; gehield, *watching, protection*; gehlȳd, *noise*; gehnāest, -āst, *collision*; genyht, *sufficiency*; geresp, *blame*; gewēd, *fury, madness*; geswinc, *labour, affliction*.

5. THE u-DECLENSION.

§ 394. The u-declension comprises masculine, feminine and neuter nouns, and corresponds to the Lat. and Gr. u-declension (nom. masc. and fem. Lat. -us, Gr. -us, acc. -um, -uv; neut. nom. acc. -ū, -v).

a. Masculine.

§ 395. SING.

Nom. Acc.	sunu, -o, son	feld, <i>field</i>
Gen.	suna	felda
Dat.	suna	felda

PLUR.

Nom. Acc.	suna	felda
Gen.	suna	felda
Dat.	sunum	feldum

The prim. Germanic forms were: Sing. nom. *sunuz (Goth. sunus), acc. *sunun (Goth. sunu), gen. *sunaуз (Goth. sunáus), dat. *suniwai (*sunwai), loc. *sunau (Goth. sunáu); Plur. nom. *suniwiz (Goth. sunjus), acc. *sununz (Goth. sununs), gen. *suniwōn (*sunwōn), dat. *sunumiz. The endings -уз, -un regularly became -u in prehistoric OE., and then disappeared after long stems (§§ 211, 215), but remained after short stems and later became -o. -aуз regularly became -a (§ 217). The OE. dat. sing. is originally the locative. It is difficult to account for the ending -a of the nom. plural, which cannot be a normal development of prim. Germanic -iwiz = Indg. -ewes. The gen. pl. ending -a is from the a- and the consonantal stems. The dat. pl. ending -um is from older -umiz. At a later period the -u (-o) of the nom. acc. sing.

was often extended to the dat. sing. and nom. acc. pl. in the short stems; and likewise the *-a* of the gen. and dat. sing. to the nom. acc. In late OE. the short stems also often formed their gen. sing. and nom. acc. pl. after the analogy of the masc. *a*-stems. Already at an early period the long stems were often declined entirely like the *a*-stems. Many nouns which originally belonged to this class went over into the *a*-declension in prehistoric OE. without leaving any trace of the *u*-declension, as *ār* (Goth. *áirus*), *messenger*; *dēaþ* (Goth. *dáuþus*), *death*; *feorh* (also neut.), *life*; *flōd*, *flood*; *grund*, *ground*; *lust*, *pleasure*, *desire*; *scield*, *shield*; *þorn*, *thorn*; *beofor*, *beaver*; *esol*, *ass*; *hungor*, *hunger*; *fiscoþ*, *fishing*; *huntoþ*, *hunting*; for further examples, see § 595.

§ 396. Like *sunu* are declined *bregu*, *prince, ruler*; *heoru*, *sword*; *lagu*, *sea, flood*; *magu*, *son, man*; *medu*, *mead* (gen. *meda* beside *medwes*); *sidu*, *custom*; *spitu*, *spit*; *wudu*, *wood*.

§ 397. Like *feld* are declined *eard*, *native country*; *ford*, *ford*; *gār* (mostly in compounds), *spear*; *hād*, *rank, condition* (for compounds in *-hād*, see § 605); *hearg*, *temple*; *sēaþ*, *pit, spring*; *weald*, *forest*; *sumor*, *summer*; *æppel* (gen. *æp(p)les*, pl. *ap(p)la* beside *æp(p)las*, and neut. *ap(p)lu*), *apple*; *winter* (pl. neut. *wintru* beside *winter*), *winter*.

b. Feminine.

§ 398. SING.

Nom. Acc.	<i>duru, -o, door</i>	<i>hand, hand</i>
Gen.	<i>dura</i>	<i>handa</i>
Dat.	<i>dura</i>	<i>handa</i>

PLUR.

Nom. Acc.	<i>dura</i>	<i>handa</i>
Gen.	<i>dura</i>	<i>handa</i>
Dat.	<i>durum</i>	<i>handum</i>

The masculine and feminine *u*-stems were originally declined alike. In the short stems the nom. acc. sing. was also sometimes used for the dat. sing. and nom. acc. plural; and the gen. and dat. sing. often had *-e* after the analogy of the short *ō*-stems. Beside the regular gen. and dat. sing. *dura*, there also occurs *dyre*, *dyru* with *i*-umlaut after the analogy of the *i*-declension. In the long stems the nom. acc. sing. was sometimes used for the gen. and dative. To the short stems also belongs *nosu*, *nose*; and to the long stems: *cweorn* (also *ō*-declension), Goth. *-qairnus*, *hand-mill*; *flōr* (also masc.), *floor*; and originally also *cin(n)* (Goth. *kinnus*, Gr. *γένυς*), *chin*.

c. Neuter.

§ 399. The neuter *u*-stems had originally the same endings as the masculine except in the nom. acc. sing. and plural, the former of which ended in *-u* and the latter in *-ū*. Nth. *feolu*, *-o*, and the WS. isolated inflected form *fela*, *feola*, *much*, *many*, are the only remnants of this declension in OE. *feoh* (Goth. *faíhu*), *cattle*, went over into the *a*-declension in prehistoric OE.

B. THE WEAK DECLENSION (N-STEMS).

a. Masculine.

§ 400.	SING.		
	Nom.	<i>guma</i> , <i>man</i>	<i>frēa</i> , <i>lord</i>
	Acc.	<i>guman</i>	<i>frēan</i>
	Gen.	<i>guman</i>	<i>frēan</i>
	Dat.	<i>guman</i>	<i>frēan</i>
	PLUR.		
	Nom. Acc.	<i>guman</i>	<i>frēan</i>
	Gen.	<i>gumena</i>	<i>frēana</i>
	Dat.	<i>gumum</i>	<i>frēa(u)m</i>

The prim. Germanic forms were: Sing. nom. **gumō*, acc. **gumanun*, gen. **gumenaz* (Goth. *gumins*), dat., properly locative, **gumini* (Goth. *gumin*); Plur. nom. **gumaniz* (Goth. *gumans*), acc. **gumanunz*, gen. **gumnōn* (cp. Goth. *aúhs-nē*, OE. *ox-na*, of *oxen*) beside West Germanic **gumōnōn* (OHG. *gomōno*, OS. *gumono*) with *-ōnōn* from the fem. nouns, dat. **gumunmiz* beside West Germanic **gumō(n)miz* (OHG. *gomōm*) with *-ō* from the genitive. In OE. the nom. and acc. sing. and the nom. pl. were regularly developed from the corresponding prim. Germanic forms. The regular form of the gen. and dat. sing. would be **gumen*, **gymen*, but OE. had levelled out the *-an* of the acc. sing. before the period of i-umlaut. The gen. pl. can be either from **gumanōn* with *a* from the sing. and the nom. plural, or from West Germanic **gumōnōn* (§§ 217, 222). The dat. pl. was formed direct from *gum* + *-um*, the ending of the *a*-stems and the other consonantal stems, or else it is from West Germanic **gumō(n)miz*. Beside the regular gen. pl. ending *-ena*, the forms *-ana*, *-ona* sometimes occur. The *e* in *-ena* was generally syncopated after long stems in poetry and in the names of peoples. On the loss of final *-n* in Nth., see § 288.

From a morphological point of view the *n*-stems should be divided into *-an*, *-jan*, and *-wan* stems, but in OE. as in the other Germanic languages all three classes were declined alike. The *-jan* stems have i-umlaut in the stem-syllable and also gemination of consonants when the stem was originally short, as *dēma*, *judge*, *cȳta*, *kite*, *becca*, *pickaxe*, *brytta*, *distributor*, *prince*, from prim. Germanic **đōmjō*, *kūtjō*, **bakjō*, **brutjō*.

§ 401. Like *guma* are declined a large number of nouns, as *ācumba*, *oakum*; *āra*, *strigil*; *ārendra*, *messenger*; *āglāca*, *monster*; *anda*, *envy*; *andsaca*, *adversary*; *anga*, *goad*; *apa*, *ape*; *assa*, *ass*; *bana*, *slayer*; *bēna*, *suppliant*;

beorma, *barm, yeast*; bera, *bear*; bes(e)ma, *besom*; bita, *bit, morsel*; blanca, *horse*; blōstma, *blossom*; boda, *messenger*; boga, *bow*; bolla, *bowl*; brōga, *terror*; bucca, *he-goat*; bylda, *builder*; byrga, *surety*; cleofa, *cleft, cave*; cnapa, *boy*; cnotta, *knot*; cofa, *chamber*; crabba, *crab*; cruma, *crumb*; cuma, *guest, stranger*; dogga, *dog*; dora, *bumble-bee*; dropa, *drop*; dwolma, *chaos*; eafora, *son*; fana, *banner*; fēpa, *band of infantry*; fliema, *fugitive*; flota, *sailor*; fola, *foal*; freca, *warrior*; frogga, *frog*; fruma, *beginning*; gāra, *corner*; gealga, *gallows*; gealla, *gall*; gefēra, *companion*; gehola, *protector*; gerēfa, *reeve*; gerūna, *councillor*; gesaca, *adversary*; geþofa, *companion*; gewuna, *custom*; haca, *hook*; hafela, *head*; hana, *cock*; hara, *hare*; hunta, *hunter*; inca, *grudge*; lēoma, *ray of light*; lida, *sailor*; loca, *enclosure*; maga, *stomach*; mōna, *moon*; naca, *boat*; nama, *name*; nefa, *nephew*; ōga, *terror*; ōretta, *warrior*; oxa (pl. *œxen* *exen*, beside *oxan*, § 107), *ox*; plega, *play*; pohha, *pouch, bag*; prica, *prick, point*; rima, *rim*; ryppa, *mastiff*; sāda, *cord, snare*; scanca, *shank*; scaþa, *foe, enemy*; scrēawa, *shrew-mouse*; scucca, *demon*; scu(w)a, *shadow*; sefa, *mind, heart*; slaga, *slayer*; snaca, *snake*; sopa, *sup*; spāca, *spoke of a wheel*; spearwa, *sparrow*; staca, *stake*; stela, *stalk*; steorra, *star*; swēora, *neck*; swica, *deceiver*; swima, *giddiness*; telga, *branch*; trega, *grief, affliction*; þearfa, *pauper*; þūma, *thumb*; wela, *prosperity*; wita, *sage, wise man*; witega, *prophet*; wræcc(e)a (§ 55, Note 3), *exile*; wyrhta, *worker*; and the pl. *hīwan* (gen. *hīna* beside *hīwna*), *members of a household*.

§ 402. Like *frēa* are declined *flea*, *gefā*, *foe*; *(ge)fēa*, *joy*; *lēo*, *lion*; *rā*, *roe*; *twēo*, *doubt*; *wēa*, *woe*; and the plural *Swēon*, *Swedes*. See § 139.

b. Feminine.

§ 403.	SING.		
	Nom.	tunge, <i>tongue</i>	bēo, <i>bee</i>
	Acc.	tungan	bēon
	Gen.	tungan	bēon
	Dat.	tungan	bēon
	PLUR.		
	Nom. Acc.	tungan.	bēon
	Gen.	tungena	bēona
	Dat.	tungum	bēom

The feminine *n*-stems were originally declined like the masculine, as in Latin, Greek and Sanskrit, but already in the prehistoric period of the Germanic languages, they became differentiated in some of the cases by partly generalizing one or other of the forms, thus the nom. sing. originally ended in *-ō* or *-ōn* in both genders, the West Germanic languages restricted *-ō* to the masculine and *-ōn* to the feminine, but in Gothic the reverse took place. In the fem. Goth. O.Icel. OS. and OHG. levelled out the long vowel of the nom. into the oblique cases, whereas OE. had the same forms as the masculine except in the nom. sing. *-e* from prim. Germanic *-ōn* (§ 217). The general remarks made in § 400 concerning the masculine *n*-stems also apply to the feminine.

The fem. nouns with short stems began to form their nom. sing. after the analogy of the short *ō*-stems (§ 365) already in early OE., as *cinu*, *chink*, *spadu*, *spade*, beside *cine*, *spade*.

§ 404. Like *tunge* are declined *ædre*, *artery*, *vein*; *ælmesse*, *alms*; *æsce*, *inquiry*; *ampre*, *sorrel*; *ar(e)we*, *arrow*; *asse*, *she-ass*; *asce*, *ash*, *cinders*; *āpexe*, *lizard*; *bæcestre* (also masc.), *baker* (for other examples containing the suffix *-estre*, see § 603); *bēce*, *beech-tree*; *belle*,

bell; *berige, berry*; *bieme, trumpet*; *bicce, bitch*; *binde, head-band*; *blædre, bladder*; *blæse, blaze, firebrand, torch*; *burne, stream, brook*; *byrne, corslet*; *canne, can, cup*; *cēace, cheek, jaw*; *ceole, throat*; *cirice, church*; *clugge, bell*; *crāwe, crow*; *cuppe, cup*; *cūslyppe, sloppe, cowslip*; *cwene, woman*; *docce, dock (plant)*; *dūce, duck*; *eorpe, earth*; *fæcele, torch*; *fape, aunt*; *fipele, fiddle*; *flēoge, fly*; *fliete, cream*; *folde, earth*; *hacele, cloak*; *hearpe, harp*; *heofone, heaven*; *heorte* (orig. neut.), *heart*; *hlæfdige, lady*; *hrūse, earth*; *loppe, flea*; *mæge, māge, kinswoman*; *meowle, maiden*; *mīere, mare*; *mōdrige, maternal aunt*; *molde, earth*; *more, parsnip*; *moþpe, moth*; *nædre, snake*; *ōsle, ousel*; *panne, pan*; *pere, pear*; *pīpe, pipe*; *pirige, pear-tree*; *piſe, pea*; *racente, chain*; *seohhe, sieve*; *sīde, side*; *slyppe, paste*; *smiþpe, smithy*; *sunne, sun*; *swealwe, swallow*; *swipe, scourge*; *þrote, throat*; *þyrne, thornbush*; *ūle, owl*; *wæcce* (§ 55, Note 3), *vigil*; *wāse, mud*; *wicce, witch*; *wīse, way, manner*; *wice, wuce, week*; *wulle, wool*; *wuduwe, widow*; *ȳce, toad, frog*.

§ 405. Like *bēo* are declined *cēo, jackdaw, chough*; *flā, arrow*; *sēo, pupil of the eye*; *slā, slāh, sloe*; *tā, toe*; *pō, clay*. See § 139.

c. Neuter.

§ 406.	SING.	PLUR.
	Nom. Acc.	<i>ēage, eye</i> <i>ēagan</i>
	Gen.	<i>ēagan</i> <i>ēagena</i>
	Dat.	<i>ēagan</i> <i>ēagum</i>

The neuter *n*-stems had originally the same endings as the masculine and feminine except in the acc. sing. and the nom. acc. plural. The nom. acc. sing. had *-ōn* which regularly became *-e* in OE. (§ 217). The nom. acc. pl. had *-ōnē* in the Indg. parent language. This was changed in prim. Germanic into *-ōnō* with *-ō* from the neuter *a*-stems. *-ōnō* regularly became *-ōna* in Goth., as *áugō, eye, nom.*

acc. pl. *áugōna*. The OE. ending *-an* was due to the analogy of the masc. and fem. *n*-stems.

§ 407. Like *ēage* are only declined *ēare*, *ear*; *wange* (also with strong forms), *cheek*.

C. MINOR DECLENSIONS.

I. MONOSYLLABIC CONSONANT STEMS.

a. Masculine.

§ 408. SING.		PLUR.
Nom. Acc.	<i>fōt</i> , <i>foot</i>	<i>fēt</i>
Gen.	<i>fōtes</i>	<i>fōta</i>
Dat.	<i>fēt</i>	<i>fōtum</i>

The prim. Germanic forms were: Sing. nom. *fōt* for older **fōs(s)* (Gr. Dor. *πός*) with *t* from the inflected forms (§ 240), and similarly *tōþ* for older **tōs(s)*, acc. **fōtun* (Goth. *fōtu*), gen. **fōtaz*, dat., properly loc., **fōti*; Plur. nom. **fōtiz*, acc. **fōtunz* (Goth. *fōtuns*), gen. **fōtōn*, dat. **fōtumiz*. The OE. correspond to the prim. Germanic forms except in the gen. sing. which is a new formation after the analogy of the *a*-stems. The regular form would be **fōt*.

§ 409. Like *fōt* are declined *tōþ*, *tooth*; *man(n)* (beside *manna*, acc. *mannan*, *n*-declension), *man*; and *wifman*, *wimman*, *woman*.

b. Feminine.

§ 410. SING.		
Nom. Acc.	<i>bōc</i> , <i>book</i>	<i>hnutu</i> , <i>nut</i>
Gen.	<i>bēc</i> ; <i>bōce</i>	<i>hnute</i>
Dat.	<i>bēc</i>	<i>hnyte</i>
PLUR.		
Nom. Acc.	<i>bēc</i>	<i>hnyte</i>
Gen.	<i>bōca</i>	<i>hnuta</i>
Dat.	<i>bōcum</i>	<i>hnutum</i>

The OE. forms of *bōc* are regularly developed from prim. Germanic: Sing. nom. **bōks*, acc. **bōkun*, gen. **bōkaz*, dat. **bōki*; Plur. nom. **bōkiz*, acc. **bōkunz*, gen. **bōkōn*, dat. **bōkumiz*. The gen. sing. *bōce* was a new formation after the analogy of the *ō*-stems, and *bēc* is the dat. used for the gen. The regular nom. sing. of *hnutu* would be **hnuss* (§ 240), *hnutu* (prim. Germ. **χnutun*) is the acc. used for the nominative. The gen. sing. was formed after the analogy of the *ō*-stems; the dat. sing. and nom. pl. correspond to prim. Germanic **χnuti*, **χnutiz*, the final *-i* (later *-e*) being retained after a short stem (§ 215).

In nouns belonging to this class the stem-vowels *ā*, *ō*, *u*, *ū* were regularly umlauted to *æ*, *ē* (Nth. *œ*), *y*, *ȳ* in the dat. sing. and nom. acc. plural. In nearly all the nouns belonging to this class, beside the gen. sing. with umlaut there exists a form ending in *-e* without umlaut which was made after the analogy of the *ō*-stems. In late OE. the dat. sing. was often like the nominative.

§ 411. Like *bōc* are declined *āc*, *oak*; *brōc*, *trousers*; *burg*, *city* (gen. dat. sing. and nom. acc. pl. *byrig* beside *byrg*, § 220; also declined like *cwēn* (§ 389), but without i-umlaut); *cū*, *cow* (also gen. sing. *cūe*, *cūs*; nom. acc. pl. *cȳ*, *cȳe*, gen. *cūa*, *cūna*, *cȳna*); *dung*, *prison*; *gāt*, *goat*; *gōs*, *goose*; *grūt*, *coarse meal, groats*; *lūs*, *louse*; *meol(u)c*, *milk*; *mūs*, *mouse*; *neaht*, *niht*, *night* (also gen. dat. sing. *nihte*; adv. gen. *nihtes*, *ānes nihtes*, *at night*, *by night*, formed after the analogy of *dæges*); *turf*, *turf*; *furh*, *furrow* (gen. sing. *fūre* beside *fyrh*, pl. gen. *fūra*, dat. *fūrum*, § 115); *sulh*, *plough* (gen. sing. *sūles* on analogy with the *a*-stems, pl. gen. *sūla*, dat. *sūlum*); *prūh*, *trough* (dat. pl. *prūm*, § 329); *wlōh*, *fringe*.

§ 412. Like *hnutu* are declined *hnitu*, *nit*; *studu*, *stuþu*, *pillar*.

c. *Neuter.*

§ 413. The only remnant of this class is *scrūd*, *garment*, dat. *scrȳd*; gen. *scrūdes* and late OE. dat. *scrūde* were formed after the analogy of the neuter *a*-stems, and also the nom. acc. pl. *scrūd*; gen. pl. *scrūda*, dat. *scrūdum*.

2. STEMS IN *-þ*.

§ 414. Of the nouns which originally belonged to this declension only four have been preserved: masc. *hæleþ* (OHG. *helid*), *hæle*, *hero*, *man*, *mōnaþ* (Goth. *mēnōþs*), *month*; fem. *mæg(e)þ* (Goth. *magap̃s*), *maiden*; neut. *ealu*, *ale*. *hæleþ*, *hæle*, *mōnaþ*, and *mæg(e)þ* originally had the same endings as the prim. Germanic forms of *fōt* (§ 408) and *bōc* (§ 410). The *þ* was reintroduced into the nom. sing. from the inflected forms. The old nom. acc. sing. has been preserved in *ealu*. The gen. and dat. sing. of *hæleþ* and *mōnaþ* were formed on analogy with the *a*-declension; and beside the nom. acc. pl. *hæleþ*, *mōnaþ*, there also exist *hæleþas*, *mōn(e)þas*. Those forms which did not originally have umlaut were generalized in OE. They are declined as follows:—

SING.

Nom. Acc.	<i>hæle</i> , (<i>hæleþ</i>) (<i>mōnaþ</i>)	<i>mæg(e)þ</i>	<i>ealu</i>
Gen.	(<i>hæleþes</i>) (<i>mōn(e)þes</i>)	<i>mæg(e)þ</i>	<i>ealop</i>
Dat.	(<i>hæleþe</i>) (<i>mōn(e)þe</i>)	<i>mæg(e)þ</i>	<i>ealop</i>

PLUR.

Nom. Acc.	<i>hæleþ</i>	<i>mōnaþ</i>	<i>mæg(e)þ</i>	
Gen.	<i>hæleþa</i>	<i>mōn(e)þa</i>	<i>mæg(e)þa</i>	<i>ealeþa</i>
Dat.	<i>hæleþum</i>	<i>mōn(e)þum</i>	<i>mæg(e)þum</i>	

3. STEMS IN *-r*.

§ 415. To this class belong the nouns of relationship: *fæder*, *father*; *brōþor*, *brother*; *mōdor*, *mother*; *dohtor*, *daughter*; *sweostor*, *sister*; and the collective plurals,

gebrōþor, gebrōþru, *brethren*; gesweostor, -tru, -tra, *sisters*.

SING.

Nom. Acc.	fæder	brōþor	mōdor
Gen.	fæder, -eres	brōþor	mōdor
Dat.	fæder	brēþer	mēder

PLUR.

Nom. Acc.	fæderas	brōþor, -þru	mōdor, -dru, -dra
Gen.	fædera	brōþra	mōdra
Dat.	fæderum	brōþrum	mōdrum

SING.

Nom. Acc.	dohtor	swestor
Gen.	dohtor	sweostor
Dat.	dehter	sweostor

PLUR.

Nom. Acc.	dohtor, -tru, -tra	sweostor
Gen.	dohtra	sweostrā
Dat.	dohtrum	sweostrum

The prim. Germanic forms of *fæder* were: Sing. nom. **faðēr* (Gr. πατήρ), acc. **faðerun* (Gr. πατέρα), gen. **faðras* (Gr. πατρός, Lat. patris), dat. **faðri* (Gr. πατρί); Plur. nom. **faðeriz* (Gr. πατέρες), acc. **faðrunz* (cp. Goth. brōþrunz), gen. **faðrōn* (Gr. πατρῶν), dat. **faðrumiz* (cp. Goth. brōþrum). The OE. nom. acc. and gen. sing. *fæder* is normally developed from the corresponding prim. Germanic forms. On the gen. *fæder* from **faðras*, see § 219; *fæderes* was formed on analogy with the *a*-stems. The prim. Germanic pl. forms (except the acc.) regularly became **fæder*, *fædra*, *fædrum*, the last two of which were common in the oldest period of the language; then later -*er* was levelled out into the gen. and dat., and the nom. pl. **fæder* became *fæd(e)ras* on analogy with the *a*-stems.

The prim. Germanic case endings of *brōþor*, *mōdor*, *dohtor*, and *sweostor* were the same as those of *fæder*

except that *brōþor* and *sweostor* having originally the chief accent on the stem had *-raz* in the gen. singular. The dat. forms **brōþri*, **mōðri*, **ðoχtri* (older **ðuχtri*) with *o* from the nom. acc. and gen., **swestri* (older **swistri*) with *e* from the nom. acc. and gen., regularly became *brēper*, *mēder*, *dehter*, *sweostor* (cp. § 219). In late OE. the dat. *mēder*, *dehter* were often used for the gen. and vice versa. The gen. sing. **brōþraz*, **mōðras*, **ðoχtras*, **swestraz*, regularly became *brōþor*, *mōdor*, *dohtor*, *sweostor* (§ 219). The gen. and dat. pl. were regularly developed from the corresponding prim. Germanic forms. The nom. sing. and pl. were in prim. OE. **brōþer*, **mōder*, **doχter*, **swestor*, then *-er* became *-or* (older *-ur*) through the influence of the guttural vowel in the stem (cp. § 222), but the ending *-er* (rarely *-ar*) often occurs both in early and late OE. *sweostor* had *-or* in prim. Germanic, as nom. sing. **swesor*, Indg. **swesōr*, pl. **swesoriz*, Indg. **swesores*; the *t* was developed between the *s* and *r* in the gen. sing. **swestraz*, pl. **swestrōn*, and then became generalized (§ 240).

gebrōþor and *gesweostor* were originally neuter collective nouns and were declined like *wīte* (§ 355), whence the plural endings *gebrōþru*, *gesweostru*, *-tra*, which were afterwards extended to the plural of *mōdor* and *dohtor*.

4. THE MASCULINE STEMS IN *-nd*.

§ 416. SING.

Nom. Acc.	<i>frēond</i> , <i>friend</i>	<i>wīgend</i> , <i>warrior</i>
Gen.	<i>frēondes</i>	<i>wīgendes</i>
Dat.	<i>frīend</i> , <i>frēonde</i>	<i>wīgende</i>

PLUR.

Nom. Acc.	<i>frīend</i> , <i>frēond</i> , <i>-as</i>	<i>wīgend</i> , <i>-e</i> , <i>-as</i>
Gen.	<i>frēonda</i>	<i>wīgendra</i>
Dat.	<i>frēondum</i>	<i>wīgendum</i>

The nouns of this declension are old present participles, like Lat. *ferēns*, *bearing*, gen. *ferentis*, and originally had the same case endings as the other consonantal stems. But in OE. as in the other Germanic languages they underwent various new formations. The OE. present participles had passed over into the *ja*-declension of adjectives (§§ 433-4) in the oldest period of the language.

The nom. sing. was a new formation with *d* from the inflected forms, cp. Lat. *ferēns* from **ferenss* older **ferents* (§ 240). The gen. sing. *frēondes*, *wīgendes*, dat. *frēonde*, *wīgende*, nom. acc. pl. *frēondas*, *wīgendas* were formed after the analogy of the masc. *a*-stems. The dat. *frīend* with umlaut is from **frīondi* older **frijōndi*; and the nom. pl. *frīend* is also from **frīondi* older **frijōndiz* (Goth. *frijōnds*). The nom. and gen. pl. endings *-e*, *-ra* are adjectival (§ 424).

§ 417. Like *frēond* are declined *fēond*, *enemy*; *tēond*, *accuser*; the compound noun *gōddōnd* (pl. *-dōnd*, beside *-dēnd*), *benefactor*; and the collective plurals *gefiend*, *enemies*; *gefrīend*, *friends*, which were originally neuter collective nouns and declined like *wīte* (§ 355).

§ 418. Like *wīgend* are declined *āgend*, *owner*; *be-swīcend*, *deceiver*; *ēhtend*, *persecutor*; *hælend*, *Saviour*; *helpend*, *helper*; *hettend*, *enemy*; *ner(i)gend*, *Saviour*; *sēmend*, *arbitrator*; *wealdend*, *ruler*; for further examples, see § 601.

5. STEMS IN *-os*, *-es*.

§ 419. This class of nouns corresponds to the Gr. neuters in *-os*, Lat. *-us*, as Gr. *γένος*, *race*, gen. *γένεος* older **γένεσος*, Lat. *genus*, gen. *generis*, pl. *genera*. A fairly large number of nouns originally belonged to this class, but owing to various levellings and new formations, of which some took place in the prehistoric period of all the Germanic languages, nearly all the nouns belonging here went over into other declensions in OE. The prim. Ger-

manic forms of a word like **lamb** were : Sing. nom. acc. ***lambaz**, gen. ***lambezaz**, ***lambiziz**, dat. ***lambizi** ; Plur. nom. acc. ***lambōzō**, gen. ***lambezōn**, dat. ***lambezumiz**. After the loss of the singular endings **-az**, **-iz**, **-i**, the following changes took place : from the gen. and dat. sing. a new nom. ***lambiz** beside **lamb** was formed. This accounts for the preservation of the **i** in Gothic in such words as **hatis** = OE. **hete**, *hate*, **sigis** = OE. **sigē**, *victory*, which would have been ***hats** and ***sigs** in Gothic, had these words ended in **-iz** in prim. Germanic. The new nom. ending **-iz** regularly became **-i** in OE., then it caused umlaut in the stem-syllable and disappeared after long stems, but remained after short stems and later became **-e**, whence forms like nom. sing. **lemb**, **gāst**, **hlāw**, **hete**, **sige** beside **lamb**, **gāst**, **hlāw**. After medial **-z-** in the gen. and dat. sing. had become **r** (§ 252) it was levelled out into the nom. sing. in some nouns, as ***dōgr**, ***hālr** beside ***dōgi**, ***hāli**, then later **dōgor**, **hālor**, older **-ur**, beside **dōg** (Nth.), **hæl**. All the nouns which underwent these new formations passed into other declensions partly with change of gender also. Thus, **gāst**, **gāst**, *spirit*, *breath*, **sigor**, *victory*, went into the masc. **a**-declension ; **hlāw**, **hlāw**, *mound*, *hill*, **hrā(w)**, **hrā(w)**, also neut., *corpse*, *carrion*, into the masc. **wa**-declension ; **dōg** (Nth.), *day*, **geban(n)**, *summons*, **gefōg**, *joining*, *joint*, **geheald**, *keeping*, *custody*, **gehnāst**, *conflict*, *strife*, **gewealc**, *rolling*, **sæl**, *hall*, **dōgor**, *day*, **ēagor**, *flood*, *tide*, **ēar**, *ear of corn*, **hālor**, *salvation*, *health*, **hrīper**, **hrȳper**, *ox*, **salor**, *hall*, **stulor**, *theft*, pl. **hæteru**, *clothes*, into the neut. **a**-declension ; **bere**, *barley*, **ege**, *fear*, **hete**, *hate*, **mene**, *necklace*, **sige**, *victory* into the masc. **i**-declension ; **oferslege**, *lintel*, **orlege**, *fate*, **sife**, *sieve*, **spere**, *spear*, **flāsc**, *flesh*, **flīes**, *fleece*, **hæl**, *health*, *salvation*, **hilt**, *hilt*, **læn**, *loan*, **sweng**, *blow*, into the neuter **i**-declension.

§ 420. The few remaining nouns formed their gen. and

dat. sing. after the analogy of the neuter *a*-stems. The cases of the plural were regularly developed from the corresponding prim. Germanic forms.

SING.

Nom. Acc.	<i>lamb, lamb</i>	<i>cealf, calf</i>	<i>æg, egg</i>
Gen.	<i>lambes</i>	<i>cealfes</i>	<i>æges</i>
Dat.	<i>lambe</i>	<i>cealfe</i>	<i>æge</i>

PLUR.

Nom. Acc.	<i>lambru</i>	<i>cealfru</i>	<i>ægru</i>
Gen.	<i>lambra</i>	<i>cealfra</i>	<i>ægra</i>
Dat.	<i>lambrum</i>	<i>cealfrum</i>	<i>ægum</i>

Beside *lamb* there also occurs *lombor* and sometimes *lemb*; in late OE. the pl. was *lamb, lamba, lambum* after the analogy of the neuter *a*-stems. Beside the Anglian sing. *calf* there also occurs *cælf, celf* with i-umlaut.

Like *lamb* are declined *cild* (pl. *cild* beside *cildru*), *child*; *speld, splinter, torch*; pl. *brēadru, crumbs*.

CHAPTER XII

ADJECTIVES

A. THE DECLENSION OF ADJECTIVES.

§ 421. In the parent Indg. language nouns and adjectives were declined alike without any distinction in endings, as in Latin, Greek, and Sanskrit. What is called the uninflected form of adjectives in the Germanic languages is a remnant of the time when nouns and adjectives were declined alike. But already in Indo-Germanic the pronominal adjectives had partly nominal and partly pronominal endings as in Sanskrit. In prim. Germanic the endings of the pronominal adjectives were extended to all adjectives.

These remarks apply to what is called in the Germanic languages the strong declension of adjectives.

The so-called weak declension of adjectives is a special Germanic formation by means of the suffixes *-en-*, *-on-*, which were originally used to form nomina agentis, and attributive nouns, as Lat. *edō* (gen. *edōnis*), *glutton*, OE. *slaga*, *slayer*, *wyrhta*, *worker*, gen. *slagan*, *wyrhtan*; Lat. adjectives *catus*, *sly*, *cunning*, *rūfus*, *red*, *red-haired*, *silus*, *pug-nosed*, beside the proper names *Catō* (gen. *Catōnis*), lit. *the sly one*, *Rūfō*, *the red-haired man*, *Silō*, *the pug-nosed man*; and similarly in OE. *blæc*, *black*, *frōd*, *wise*, *old*, *hālig*, *holy*, beside the proper names *Blaca*, *Frōda*, *Hālgā*. In like manner Goth. *blinds*, OE. *blind*, *blind*, beside Goth. OE. *blinda*, which originally meant, *the blind man*; Goth. *ahma sa weiha*, lit. *ghost the holy one*. Such nouns came to be used attributively at an early period, and then later as adjectives. And already in prim. Germanic this weak declension became the rule when the adjective followed the definite article, as *Wulfmæ̃r se geonga*, *Wulfmæ̃r the Young*, OHG. *Ludowīg ther snello*, *Ludwig the Brave*, cp. NHG. *Karl der Grosse*. At a later period, but still in prim. Germanic, the two kinds of adjectives—strong and weak—became differentiated in use. When the one and when the other form was used in OE. is a question of syntax. There were adjectival *n-*stems in the parent Indg. language, but they did not have vocalic stems beside them as is the case in the Germanic languages. *eall*, *all*, *genōg*, *enough*, *manig*, *many*, and *ōper*, *second*, were always declined according to the strong declension. Nearly all other adjectives can be declined according to either declension.

The strong form is used predicatively in the positive and superlative degrees; and when the adjective is used attributively without any other defining word, as *wæs sēo fæmne geong*, *the woman was young*; *pā menn sindon*

gōde, the men are good; þus wāron þā latestan fyr-meste, thus were the last, first. In the vocative the weak form exists beside the strong, as *þū lēofa dryhten, thou dear Lord; þū riht cyning, thou just king.*

The weak form is used after the definite article, and after demonstrative and possessive pronouns, as *se ofer-mōða cyning, the proud king; þæs ēadigan weres, of the blessed man; þes ealda mann, this old man; on þissum andweardan dæge, on this present day; mīn lēofa sunu, my dear son; þurh þīne æþelan hand, through thy noble hand.* In poetry the weak form often occurs where in prose the strong form would be used.

NOTE.—When the same adjective refers both to masc. and fem. beings, it is put in the neut. plural, as *Wit þus baru ne magon bütū ætsomne wesan, We (Adam and Eve) may not both together be thus here naked; cp. Goth. wēsun garafhta ba in andwairþja guþs, O.Icel. þau vōro rētlōt bæpe fyr guþe, OHG. siu wārun rehtiu beidu fora gote, they (Zacharias and Elizabeth) were both righteous before God.*

§ 422. In OE. the adjectives are declined as strong or weak. They have three genders, and the same cases as nouns with the addition of an instrumental in the masc. and neuter singular.

I. THE STRONG DECLENSION.

§ 423. The endings of the strong declension are partly nominal and partly pronominal, the latter are printed in italics for *glæd, glad, and blind, blind.* The nominal endings are those of the *a-, ō-*declensions. The strong declension is divided into pure *a-, ō-*stems, *ja-, jō-*stems, and *wa-, wō-*stems, like the corresponding nouns. The original *i-* and *u-*stems passed over almost entirely into this declension in prehistoric OE. In OE. the *ja-, jō-*stems and the *wa-, wō-*stems only differed from the pure *a-, ō-*stems in the masc. and fem. nom. singular and the neut. nom. acc. singular.

§ 424.

a. PURE a-, ō-STEMS.

SING.		<i>Masc.</i>	<i>Neut.</i>	<i>Fem.</i>
	Nom.	glæd, <i>glad</i>	glæd	gladu, -o
	Acc.	glæd <i>ne</i>	glæd	glade
	Gen.	glades	glades	glædre
	Dat.	gladum	gladum	glædre
	Instr.	glade	glade	
PLUR.				
Nom.	Acc.	glade	gladu, -o	glade, -a
	Gen.	glædra	glædra	glædra
	Dat.	gladum	gladum	gladum
SING.				
	Nom.	blind, <i>blind</i>	blind	blind
	Acc.	blind <i>ne</i>	blind	blinde
	Gen.	blindes	blindes	blindre
	Dat.	blindum	blindum	blindre
	Instr.	blinde	blinde	
PLUR.				
Nom.	Acc.	blinde	blind	blinde, -a
	Gen.	blindra	blindra	blindra
	Dat.	blindum	blindum	blindum

The prim. Germanic forms of **blind** were : Masc. sing. nom. ***blindaz** (Goth. *blinds*), acc. ***blindanōn** (Goth. *blindana*), gen. ***blindesa**, -asa, dat. ***blindommō**, -ē (Goth. *blindamma*), instr. (loc.) ***blindai**; plur. nom. ***blindai** (Goth. *blindái*), acc. ***blindanz** (Goth. *blindans*), gen. ***blindaižōn**, dat. ***blindomiz**. Neut. nom. acc. sing. ***blindan** (Goth. *blind*), nom. acc. pl. ***blindō** (Goth. *blinda*). Fem. sing. nom. ***blindō** (Goth. *blinda*), acc. ***blindōn** (Goth. *blinda*), gen. ***blindizōz** (cp. Goth. *pizōs*, *of the*), dat. ***blindizai** (cp. Goth. *pizái*, *to the*); pl. nom. acc. ***blindōz** (Goth. *blindōs*), gen. ***blindaižōn**, dat. ***blindōmiz**.

On the syncope of the medial vowel in *blindne*, *blindra*, *blindre*, see § 221; after the analogy of such forms it was also dropped in adjectives with short stem-syllables. In late OE. *-era*, *-ere* are common after both long and short stem-syllables. The nom. acc. neut. pl. and nom. sing. fem. go back to prim. Germanic **blindō*, the *-ō* of which became *-u* (§ 214) and then disappeared after long stems (§ 215), whence *blind* beside *glādu*. In late WS. the masc. nom. acc. pl. form was generally used for the neuter; and occasionally the *-u* of the short stems was extended to the long. On the *u* in *blindum*, see § 218; the *-um* became *-un*, *-on*-, *-an* in late OE. (§ 284). *blindra* goes back to prim. OE. **blindæra*, **blindera*, with *æ*, *e* from the masc. and neut. gen. singular. This form then came to be used for the feminine also. The remaining forms require no comment, as they are regularly developed from the corresponding prim. Germanic forms.

§ 425. On the interchange between *æ* and *a* in the declension of *glæd*, see § 54, Note 3. Like *glæd* are declined the monosyllabic adjectives with short stems, as *bær*, *bare*; *blæc*, *black*; *hræd*, *quick*; *hwæt*, *brisk*, *active*; *læt*, *slow*; *smæl*, *tender*, *small*; *sæd*, *satiated*; *wær*, *wary*, *cautious*; *dol*, *foolish*; *fram*, *active*, *bold*; *frec*, *bold*; *frum*, *original*, *first*; *gram*, *angry*, *fierce*; *hol*, *hollow*; *hnot*, *bald*; *til*, *good*, *useful*; *trum*, *firm*, *strong*; *wan*, *wanting*, *deficient*; *ānlic*, *solitary* (for other examples, see § 634); *angsum*, *troublesome* (for other examples, see § 636).

§ 426. Like *blind* are declined the monosyllabic adjectives with long stems, as *beald*, *bold*; *beorht*, *bright*; *blāc*, *pale*; *brūn*, *brown*; *brād*, *broad*; *ceald*, *cold*; *cūþ*, *known*, *familiar*; *dēad*, *dead*; *dēaf*, *deaf*; *dēop*, *deep*; *deorc*, *dark*; *dumb*, *dumb*; *eald*, *old*; *earg*, *cowardly*; *earn*, *poor*; *forht*, *fearful*, *timid*; *frōd*, *wise*, *old*; *fūl*, *foul*; *fūs*, *ready*; *gefōg* (*gefōh*), *joint*; *genōg* (*genōh*), *enough*; *geong*, *young*; *georn*, *eager*; *gnēap*, *niggardly*; *gōd*, *good*; *græg*,

grey; grēat, large; hāl, whole, sound; hār, hoary; hās, hoarse; healt, halt, lame; hēan, lowly, despised; hold, gracious; hrōr, active, brave; hwīt, white; lang, long; lāp, hateful; lēas, free from, faithless; lēof, dear; ranc, proud; rēad, red; riht, right, straight; rōf, brave, strong; rōt, glad, cheerful; rūm, roomy; sār, sore; scearp, sharp; scīr, bright, shining; scort, short; sēoc, sick; sōp, true; stēap, steep, lofty; stearc, stiff; stīp, stiff, rigid; strang, strong; swift, swift; swīp, strong; torht, bright; trāg, lazy, bad; pearl, severe; wæt, wet; wāc, weak; wealt, unsteady; wearm, warm; wīd, wide; wīs, wise; wlanc, proud; wōd, mad; wræst, firm, strong; wrāp, wroth, angry; wund, wounded; fyrn (orig. i-stem), old, ancient; cōl (orig. u-stem), cool; heard (orig. u-stem), hard. The double consonants were simplified in the inflected forms before other consonants (§ 259) in words like dunn, dun; eall, all; feorr, far; full, full; gewiss, certain, sure; grimm, grim; snell, ready, active. For examples of adjectives like æpelcund, of noble origin; ānfeald, single; ārfæst, virtuous; ārlēas, impious, see Adjectival Suffixes, §§ 623, 633.

§ 427.

SING.	Masc.	Neut.	Fem.
Nom.	hēah, high	hēah	hēa
Acc.	hēa(n)ne	hēah	hēa
Gen.	hēas	hēas	hēa(r)re
Dat.	hēa(u)m	hēa(u)m	hēa(r)re
Instr.	hēa	hēa	
PLUR.			
Nom. Acc.	hēa	hēa	hēa
Gen.	hēa(r)ra	hēa(r)ra	hēa(r)ra
Dat.	hēa(u)m	hēa(u)m	hēa(u)m

hēanne, hēarra, hēarre were due to the assimilation of hn and hr; and hēane, hēara, hēare arose from the regu-

lar loss of *h* before *n*, *r* (§ 329, 2). In *hēaum* the *u* was restored after the analogy of forms like *gladum*, *blindum*. The instr., masc. and fem. nom. pl., and fem. acc. singular *hēa* was from older **hēahe*; and the neut. nom. acc. pl. and fem. nom. singular from older **hēahu*; masc. and neut. gen. sing. from **hēahes*. See § 139. Late OE. forms like gen. *hēages*, dat. *hēage*, nom. pl. *hēage* beside older *hēas*, *hēa(u)m*, *hēa* were formed after the analogy of such words as gen. *gefōges*, *genōges* beside nom. *gefōh*, *genōh* (§ 323).

§ 428. Like *hēah* are declined *fāh*, *hostile*; *flāh*, *deceitful*; *hrēoh*, *rude, rough, wild*; *nēah*, *nigh, near*; *rūh*, *rough*; *scēoh*, *shy*; *tōh*, *tough*; *wōh*, *crooked, bad*. *sceolh*, *awry, squinting*; *þweorh*, *cross, perverse*, dropped the *h* and lengthened the diphthong in the inflected forms, as gen. *scēoles*, *þwēores*, dat. *scēolum*, *þwēorum*, cp. § 149.

§ 429.

	SING.	Masc.	Neut.	Fem.
	Nom.	<i>manig</i> , <i>many</i>	<i>manig</i>	<i>manig</i>
	Acc.	<i>manigne</i>	<i>manig</i>	<i>manige</i>
	Gen.	<i>maniges</i>	<i>maniges</i>	<i>manigre</i>
	Dat.	<i>manigum</i>	<i>manigum</i>	<i>manigre</i>
	Instr.	<i>manige</i>	<i>manige</i>	
	PLUR.			
	Nom. Acc.	<i>manige</i>	<i>manig</i>	<i>manige, -a</i>
	Gen.	<i>manigra</i>	<i>manigra</i>	<i>manigra</i>
	Dat.	<i>manigum</i>	<i>manigum</i>	<i>manigum</i>
	SING.			
	Nom.	<i>hālig</i> , <i>holy</i>	<i>hālig</i>	<i>hāligu, -o</i>
	Acc.	<i>hāligne</i>	<i>hālig</i>	<i>hālge</i>
	Gen.	<i>hālges</i>	<i>hālges</i>	<i>hāligre</i>
	Dat.	<i>hālgum</i>	<i>hālgum</i>	<i>hāligre</i>
	Instr.	<i>hālge</i>	<i>hālge</i>	

PLUR.

Nom. Acc.	<i>hālgē</i>	<i>hāligu, -o</i>	<i>hālgē, -a</i>
Gen.	<i>hāligra</i>	<i>hāligra</i>	<i>hāligra</i>
Dat.	<i>hālgum</i>	<i>hālgum</i>	<i>hālgum</i>

Original short medial vowels in open syllables regularly remained in trisyllabic forms when the stem-syllable was short. They also remained in closed syllables irrespectively as to whether the stem-syllable was long or short. But they disappeared when the stem-syllable was long. See § 221. Final *-u* regularly disappeared after a long medial syllable, and also when the stem and the medial syllable were short, but remained when the stem-syllable was long and the medial syllable short. See § 216. There are many exceptions to the above rules due to analogical formations, as *yflies*, *hāliges*, *hālgu* beside older *yfeles*, *hālgēs*, *hāligu*, see § 223, Note 1. In adjectives ending in *-en*, *-er*, the combinations *-enne* (masc. acc. sing.), *-erra* (gen. pl.), and *-erre* (fem. gen. dat. sing.) were often simplified to *-ene*, *-era*, *-ere* especially in late OE. (§ 259, 4).

§ 430. Like *manig* are declined the dissyllabic adjectives with short stems, as *atol*, *terrible*, *dire*; *bedol*, *suppliant*; *bræsen*, *of brass* (for examples of other adjectives ending in *-en*, see § 625); *efen*, *even*; *etol*, *gluttonous*; *fægen*, *glad*; *fæger*, *fair*; *flacor*, *flickering*; *flugol*, *fleet*, *swift*; *forod*, *decayed*; *fracoþ*, *vile*, *bad*; *hnitol*, *given to butting*; *micel* (see § 223, Note 1), *large*, *great*; *nacod*, *naked*; *open*, *open*; *plegol*, *playful*; *recen*, *ready*, *prompt*; *sicor*, *sure*; *sweetol*, *plain*, *evident*; *yfel*, *evil*; *wacor*, *vigilant*; *bysig*, *busy* (for other examples, see § 630); past participles, as *boren*, *borne*; *coren*, *chosen*; *legen*, *lain*; &c.

§ 431. Like *hālig* are declined the dissyllabic adjectives with long stems, as *ācol*, *timid*, *frightened*; *æt(t)ren*, *poisonous* (for examples of other adjectives ending in *-en*, see § 625); *āgen*, *own*; *bēogol*, *agreeing*; *bit(t)er*, *bitter*;

brægdēn, *deceitful*; *crīsten*, *christian*; *dēagol*, *dīegol*, *secret*; *ēacen*, *great, increased*; *earfoþ*, *difficult*; *frettol*, *greedy*; *geōmor*, *sad*; *gylden*, *golden*; *hādor*, *bright*; *hæþen*, *heathen*; *hlūt(t)or*, *clear*; *idel*, *vain*; *lýtēl*, *little*; *ōþer* (§ 223), *second*; *snot(t)or*, *wise*; *stægēl*, *steep*; *blōdig*, *bleeding*; *cræftig*, *skilful*; *ēadig*, *rich, happy* (for other examples, see § 630); *cildisc*, *childish* (for other examples see § 632); past participles, as *bunden*, *bound*; *holpen*, *helped*, see § 442.

b. ja-, jō-stems.

§ 432. In the *ja-*, *jō-*stems it is necessary to distinguish between those stems which were originally long and those which became long by the West Germanic doubling of consonants (§ 254). The latter class were declined in OE. like the pure *a-*, *ō-*stems ending in double consonants (§ 426), such are: *gesibb*, *akin, related*; *midd*, *middle*; *nytt*, *useful*. The regular form of the nom. sing. masc. and neut. of a word like *midd* would be **mide*, see § 274.

§ 433.

SING.	<i>Masc.</i>	<i>Neut.</i>	<i>Fem.</i>
Nom.	wilde , <i>wild</i>	wilde	wildu , <i>-o</i>
Acc.	wildne	wilde	wilde
Gen.	wildes	wildes	wildre
Dat.	wildum	wildum	wildre
Instr.	wilde	wilde	
PLUR.			
Nom. Acc.	wilde	wildu , <i>-o</i>	wilde , <i>-a</i>
Gen.	wildra	wildra	wildra
Dat.	wildum	wildum	wildum

The only difference in declension between the original long *ja-*, *jō-*stems and the long pure *a-*, *ō-*stems is in the masc. nom. sing., neut. nom. acc. sing. and plural, and the fem. nom. singular. *wilde* (masc. nom. sing.) is regularly developed

from prim. Germanic *wilþjaz, and the neut. nom. acc. sing. from *wilþjan; wildu (fem. nom. sing. and neut. nom. acc. plural) was formed on analogy with the short pure a-stems (§ 424), the regular form would be *wild (see § 215). Double consonants were simplified before or after other consonants (§ 259), as masc. acc. sing. þynne, *thin*, fæcne, *deceitful*, ierne, *angry*, from *þynnne, *fæcnne, *ierrne; fem. gen. dat. sing. gifre, *greedy*, ierre from *gifrre, *ierrre. When n, r came to stand between two consonants the first of which was not a nasal or liquid, they became vocalic and then developed an e before them, as masc. acc. sing. giferne from *gifrne; fem. gen. dat. sing. fæcenre from *fæcnre. Nearly all the old long i- and u-stems went over into this declension in prehistoric OE.

§ 434. Like wilde are declined a large number of adjectives, as æltæwe, *entire*; æpele, *noble*; andfenge, *acceptable*; andrysne, *terrible*; ānlīpe, *single*; blīpe, *joyful*; brēme, *famous*; brȳce, *useful*; cēne, *bold*; clāne, *clean*; cȳme, *comely, beautiful*; cynde, *natural*; diere, *dear*; dierne, *hidden*; drȳge, *dry*; ēce, *eternal*; egle, *troublesome*; ēste, *gracious*; fæcne, *deceitful*; fæge, *fated*; fēowerfēte, *four-footed*; filde, *level (of land)*; flēde, *in flood*; forþgenge, *effective*; frēcne, *dangerous, wicked*; frem(e)de, *foreign*; frēo (§ 104), *free*; gecnæwe, *conscious of*; gecwēme, *pleasant*; gedēfe, *becoming, fit*; gefēre, *accessible*; gehende, *handy*; gemæne, *common*; genæme, *acceptable*; gesiēne, *visible*; getenge, *near to*; getriewe, *faithful*; gifre, *greedy*; grēne, *green*; hlāne, *lean*; hnæsce, *soft, tender*; ierre, *angry*; iēpe, *easy*; lāne, *temporary*; lætræde, *deliberate*; līpe, *gentle*; mære, *famous*; man-þwære, *humane*; medeme, *moderate*; mēpe, *tired*; milde, *mild*; myrge, *merry*; niewe, nīwe (§ 90), *new*; oferæte, *gluttonous*; oferspræce, *loquacious*; ormæte, *immeasurable*; rēpe, *fierce*; rice, *powerful*; rīpe, rīpe; sāne, *slow*;

sammāle, *agreed*; sciene, *beautiful*; sēfte, *soft*; slīpe, *cruel, savage*; smēpe, *smooth*; smylte, *mild, serene*; stille, *still*; strenge, *strong*; swēte, *sweet*; swige, *silent*; sýfre, *pure*; þicce, *thick*; þiestre, *dark, gloomy*; þrifingre, *three fingers thick*; þriste, *rash, daring*; þriwintre, *three years old*; þynne, *thin*; þyrre, *withered*; unhiere, *horrible*; ūþgenge, *fugitive*; wēste, *waste, barren*; wierpe, *worthy*; wrāne, *wanton*. In like manner are declined the present participles (§ 441). For examples of adjectives like æppel-bāre, *apple-bearing*; coppede, *topped, polled*; hālwende, *healthful*, see Adjectival Suffixes, §§ 624, 638.

c. wa-, wō-STEMS.

§ 435.

SING.	Masc.	Neut.	Fem.
Nom.	gearu, -o, <i>ready</i>	gearu, -o	gearu, -o
Acc.	gearone	gearu, -o	gearwe
Gen.	gearwes	gearwes	gearore
Dat.	gearwum	gearwum	gearore
Instr.	gearwe	gearwe	
PLUR.			
Nom. Acc.	gearwe	gearu, -o	gearwe, -a
Gen.	gearora	gearora	gearora
Dat.	gearwum	gearwum	gearwum

w became vocalized to u (later o) when final and before consonants in prehistoric OE. (§ 265); whence masc. nom. sing., neut. nom. acc. sing. gearu from *garw-az, -an. The u had become o before consonants in the oldest period of the language, as gearone, gearora. The fem. nom. sing. and neut. nom. acc. pl. are from older *garwu with loss of w before the following u (§ 266). The dat. gearwum for *gearum was a new formation made from forms like gearwes, gearwe, where the w was regular. On forms like gen. gearuwes, gearowes beside gearwes, see § 220.

§ 436. Like *gearu* are declined *basu*, *beasu*, *purple*; *calu*, *bald*; *cylu*, *spotted*; *fealu*, *fallow*; *geolu*, *yellow*; *hasu*, *heasu*, *grey*, *tawny*; *mearu*, *tender*; *nearu*, *narrow*; *salu*, *sealu*, *dusky*, *dark*.

§ 437. The adjectives which had a long vowel or long diphthong in the stem reintroduced the *w* into the nominative from the inflected forms (§ 265) and then came to be declined like pure long *a*-, *ō*-stems (§ 424), such are: *fēawe*, *few*; *gedēaw*, *dewy*; *gehlēow*, *sheltered*; *gesēaw*, *succulent*; *glēaw*, *wise*; *hnēaw*, *stingy*; *hrēaw*, *raw*; *rōw*, *quiet*, *calm*; *slāw*, *slow*; *pēow*, *servile*.

d. i-STEMS.

§ 438. Of the adjectives which originally belonged to this class, the long stems took final *-i* (later *-e*) from analogy with the short stems and then both classes went over into the *ja*-declension in prehistoric OE. The old short *i*-stems are still recognizable by the fact that they do not have double consonants in the stem-syllable. Examples are: *bryce*, *brittle*; *gemyne*, *remembering*; *swice*, *deceitful*; and of old long *i*-stems: *blīpe* (Goth. *bleips*), *joyful*; *brȳce* (Goth. *brūks*), *useful*; *clāne*, *clean*; *gecwēme*, *pleasant*; *gedēfe* (Goth. *gadōfs*), *becoming*, *fit*; *gemāne* (Goth. *gamáins*), *common*; *gesīene* (cp. Goth. *anasiums*), *visible*; *grēne*, *green*; *sciene*, *beautiful*; *swēte*, *sweet*; &c.

e. u-STEMS.

§ 439. Of the adjectives which originally belonged to this class only two have preserved traces of the old *u*-declension, namely nom. sing. *cwicu*, *c(w)ucu*, *alive*, masc. acc. sing. *cucone*, and nom. *wlacu*, *warm*, *tepid*. And even these two adjectives generally have nom. *cwic*, *wlæc* and are declined like short pure *a*-stems. All the other adjectives passed over into the *a*-, *ja*-, or *wa*-declension in prehistoric OE., as *heard* (Goth. *hardus*), *hard*; *egle*

(Goth. *aglus*), *troublesome*; *hnesce*, *hnæsce* (Goth. *hnasqus*), *soft, tender*; *twelfwintre* (Goth. *twalibwintrus*), *twelve years old*; *þyrre* (Goth. *þaursus*), *dry, withered*; *glēaw* (Goth. *glaggwus*), *wise*.

2. THE WEAK DECLENSION.

§ 440.

SING.	Masc.	Neut.	Fem.
Nom.	<i>blinda</i> , <i>blind</i>	<i>blinde</i>	<i>blinde</i>
Acc.	<i>blindan</i>	<i>blinde</i>	<i>blindan</i>
Gen.	<i>blindan</i>	<i>blindan</i>	<i>blindan</i>
Dat.	<i>blindan</i>	<i>blindan</i>	<i>blindan</i>
PLUR.			
Nom. Acc.	<i>blindan</i>	<i>blindan</i>	<i>blindan</i>
Gen.	<i>blindra</i> , <i>-ena</i>	<i>blindra</i> , <i>-ena</i>	<i>blindra</i> , <i>-ena</i>
Dat.	<i>blindum</i>	<i>blindum</i>	<i>blindum</i>

The weak declension of adjectives has the same endings as the weak declension of nouns, except that the adjectives generally have the strong ending *-ra* (§ 424) instead of *-(e)na* in the gen. plural. Beside the regular dat. pl. ending *-um* there also occurs at an early period *-an* which was taken over from the nom. acc. plural. In trisyllabic adjectives the medial vowel remained after short stems, but disappeared after long stems, as *wacora*, *wacore*, *vigilant*, beside *hālga*, *hālge*, *holy* (§ 221). On adjectives like *hēa*, *high*, gen. *hēan*, see § 427. In like manner are declined the *ja-* and *wa-*stems, as *wilda*, *wilde*, *wild*; *gearwa*, *gearwe*, *ready*.

3. THE DECLENSION OF PARTICIPLES.

§ 441. In the parent language the stem of the present participle ended in *-nt*, as in Lat. *ferent-*, Gr. *φέρωντ-*, *bearing*. The masc. and neut. were originally declined like consonant stems (§ 416). The fem. nom. originally ended in *-ī* which was shortened to *-i* (§ 214) in prehistoric OE. (cp. Goth.

frijōndi, fem. *friend*). The *-i* of the feminine was extended to the masculine and neuter, which was the cause of their passing over into the *ja*-declension (§ 433). In OE. the pres. participle was declined strong or weak like an ordinary adjective. When used predicatively it often had the uninflected form for all genders in the nom. and accusative.

§ 442. The past participle, like the present, was declined strong or weak like an ordinary adjective. When strong it was declined like *manig* or *hālig* (§ 429) according as the stem-syllable was short or long; and similarly when it was declined weak (§ 440). When used predicatively it generally had the uninflected form for all genders. A small number of past participles of strong verbs have *i*-umlaut of the stem-vowel, because in prim. Germanic, beside the ordinary ending *-énaz* = Indg. *-énos*, there also existed *-íniz* = Indg. *-énis*, hence forms like *ægen* beside *āgen*, *own*; *cymen* beside *cumen*, *come*; *slegen* beside *slāgen*, *slagen*, *slain*; *tygen* from **tuginiz* beside *togen* from **tugenaz*, *drawn*.

B. THE COMPARISON OF ADJECTIVES.

I. THE COMPARATIVE DEGREE.

§ 443. The Indg. parent language had several suffixes by means of which the comparative degree was formed. But in the individual branches of the parent language, one of the suffixes generally became more productive than the rest, and in the course of time came to be the principal one from which the comparative was formed, the other suffixes only being preserved in isolated forms. The only Indg. comparative suffix which remained productive in the Germanic languages is *-is-*, which became *-iz-* (= Goth. *-iz-*, OHG. *-ir-*, OE. *-r-*) in prim. Germanic by Verner's law. To this suffix was added in prim. Germanic, or probably in the pre-Germanic period, the formative suffix *-en-*, *-on-*,

as in Gr. ἡδίων from *σφαδίσων, gen. ἡδίωνος, = Goth. *sutiza*, gen. *sutizins*, OHG. *suoziro*, gen. *suoziren*, (-in), OE. *swētra*, *sweeter*, gen. *swētran*. This explains why the comparative is declined weak in the oldest periods of the Germanic languages. Beside the suffix *-iz-* there was also in prim. Germanic a suffix *-ōz-* (Goth. *-ōz-*, OHG. *-ōr-*, OE. *-r-*) which did not exist in Indo-Germanic. This suffix is a special Germanic new formation, and arose from the comparative of adverbs whose positive originally ended in *-ō*, Indg. *-ōd* (§ 554). And then at a later period it became extended to adjectives.

In OE. polysyllabic adjectives formed with derivative suffixes and compound adjectives had the Germanic suffix *-ōz-*; *ja*-stems the suffix *-iz-*; and uncompounded pure *a*-stems mostly had *-ōz-*. Prim. Germanic *-izō* (= Goth. *-iza*, OHG. *-iro*) and *-ōzō* (= Goth. *-ōza*, OHG. *-ōro*) fell together in *-ra* in OE., so that, except in the *ja*-stems, the presence or absence of umlaut is the only indication as to which of the two suffixes *-ra* goes back. Only a small number of adjectives have umlaut in OE., of which the most common are:

<i>brād</i> , <i>broad</i>	<i>brādra</i> beside <i>brādra</i>
<i>eald</i> , <i>old</i>	<i>ieldra</i> (Goth. <i>alpiza</i>)
<i>feorr</i> , <i>far</i>	<i>fierra</i>
<i>geong</i> , <i>young</i>	<i>giengra</i> , <i>gingra</i>
<i>grēat</i> , <i>great</i>	<i>grīetra</i>
<i>hēah</i> , <i>high</i>	<i>hīehra</i> , <i>hierra</i> beside <i>hēahra</i>
<i>lang</i> , <i>long</i>	<i>lengra</i>
<i>sceort</i> , <i>short</i>	<i>saciertra</i>
<i>strang</i> , <i>strong</i>	<i>strengra</i> .

Examples without umlaut in the comparative degree are : *ēadig*, *happy*, *earm*, *poor*, *fægen*, *glad*, *fæger*, *fair*, *gearu*, *o*, *ready*, *glæd*, *glad*, *grimm*, *grim*, *hālig*, *holy*, *lēof*, *dear*, *nēah*, *near*, comparative *ēadigra*, *earmra*, *fægenra*,

fægerra, gearora, glædra, grimra, hāligra, lēofra, nēahra (nēarra).

2. THE SUPERLATIVE DEGREE.

§ 444. The superlative, like the comparative degree, was formed in the Indg. parent language by means of several suffixes. But in the individual branches of the parent language, one of the suffixes generally became more productive than the rest, and in the course of time came to be the principal one from which the superlative degree was formed, the other suffixes only being preserved in isolated forms. The only superlative suffix which remained productive in the Germanic languages is *-to-* in the combination *-isto-*, formed by adding the original superlative suffix *-to-* to the comparative suffix *-is-*, as in Sanskrit and Greek, as Gr. ἡδιστος = Goth. *sutists*, OHG. *suozisto*, OE. *swētest(a)*, *sweetest*. The simple superlative suffix *-to-* has been preserved in Gr., Lat., and the Germanic languages in the formation of the ordinal numerals, as Gr. ἕκτος, Lat. *sextus*, Goth. *saíhsta*, OHG. *sehsto*, OE. *siexta*, *sixth*. The Germanic suffix *-ōst-* was a new formation like *-ōz-* in the comparative. *-ōst-*, *-ist-* regularly became *-ost-*, *-est-* in OE., and the medial vowel in the superlative being in a closed syllable remained (§ 221). It is difficult to account for its early loss in *hiehst(a)*, *highest*, and *niehst(a)*, *nearest* (see § 221). In late OE. the medial vowel was often syncopated, as *lengsta*, *strengsta* (§ 223, Note 2). On the interchange of the medial vowel in forms like *lēofesta* beside *lēofosta*, see § 222. The adjectives which had *i*-umlaut in the comparative generally had *-est(a)*, but sometimes also *-ost(a)*, in the superlative, and those which did not have umlaut in the comparative generally had *-ost(a)*, rarely *-ust(a)*, *-ast(a)*, as *ieldest(a)*, *fierrest(a)*, *giengest(a)*, *gingest(a)*, *grietest(a)*,

lengest(a), sciartest(a), strengest(a), but earmost(a), fægnost(a), gearwost(a), hāligost(a), lēofost(a), &c.

In Gothic the superlative had both the strong and the weak declension, but in OE. it generally had only the latter except in the nom. acc. neut. which had both forms -est, -ost, beside -este, -oste.

3. IRREGULAR COMPARISON.

§ 445. The following adjectives form their comparatives and superlatives from a different root than the positive:—

gōd, <i>good</i>	{	bet(e)ra, bettra	bet(e)st, betsta
		sēlra, sēlla	
lȳtel, <i>little</i>		lāessa	lāest(a)
micel, <i>great</i>		māra	māest(a)
yfel, <i>evil</i>		wiersa	wierrest(a), wierst(a)

NOTE.—1. On the tt in bettra (Goth. batiza), see § 260. bet(e)st = Goth. batists. sēlla with assimilation of lr to ll (§ 281). lāessa from *lās(i)ra, prim. Germanic laisizō (§ 281); lāest(a) from *lāsist-. māra = Goth. māiza; māest(a) (Goth. māists) with æ from analogy with lāest(a), Anglian māst(a). wiersa (Goth. waírsiza) from *wiers(i)ra; wierrest(a), wierst(a) from *wiersist-.

2. In a few words comparative and superlative adjectives were formed from adverbs: ær, *before*, ærra, *former, earlier*, ærest(a), *first*; fyrest(a) from *furist-, *first*, related to fore, *before*; furpra, *higher, greater*, related to forþ, *forth*.

§ 446. In a number of words the comparative was formed from an adverb or preposition, with a superlative in -um-, -uma (prim. Germanic -umō), cp. Lat. *optimus, best, summus, highest*. The simple superlative suffix was preserved in OE. forma (Goth. fruma), *first*, beside fore, *before*; hindema, *last, hindmost*, beside hindan, *behind*; and meduma, medema, *midway in size*, related to midd, *middle*. But in prehistoric OE., as in Gothic, to -um- was added the ordinary superlative suffix -ist- which gave rise

to the double superlative suffix *-umist-*, as Goth. *frumists*, *first*; *hindumists*, *hindmost*. In OE. *-umist-* became *-ymist-* (§ 47), later *-imest-*, *-emest-*, *-mest-*, as

æfter, <i>after</i>	æfterra	æftemest(a)
ēast, <i>eastwards</i>	ēasterra	ēastmest(a)
fore, <i>before</i>		forma, fyrrest(a)
inne, <i>within</i>	innerra	innemest(a)
læt, <i>late</i>	lætra	lættemest(a)
midd, <i>middle</i>		medema, midmest(a)
niþan, <i>below</i>	niþerra	ni(o)þemest(a)
norþ, <i>northwards</i>	norþerra, nyrþra	norþmest(a)
sīþ, <i>late</i>	sīþra	sīþmest(a)
sūþ, <i>southwards</i>	sūþerra, sȳþerra	sūþmest(a)
ufan, <i>above</i>	{ uferra yferra	{ ufemest(a) yfemest(a)
ūte, <i>without</i>	{ ūterra ȳterra	{ ūt(e)mest(a) ȳt(e)mest(a)
west, <i>westwards</i>	westerra	westmest(a)

C. NUMERALS.

I. CARDINAL AND ORDINAL.

§ 447.

ān, <i>one</i>	{ forma, formest(a) fyrrest(a), fyrrest(a), ǣrest(a)
twā, <i>two</i>	ōþer, æfterra
þrī, <i>three</i>	þrida
fēower, <i>four</i>	fēo(we)rþa
fif, <i>five</i>	fifta
siex, <i>six</i> , <i>six</i>	siexta, sexta
seofon, <i>seven</i>	seofōþa
eahta, <i>eight</i>	eahtoþa
nigon, <i>nine</i>	nigoþa

tien, <i>ten</i>	tēoþa
en(d)le(o)fan, <i>eleven</i>	en(d)le(o)fta
twelf, <i>twelve</i>	twelfta
þrēotiene, <i>thirteen</i>	þrēotēoþa
fēowertiene, <i>fourteen</i>	fēowertēoþa
fiftiene, <i>fifteen</i>	fiftēoþa
siex-, <i>sixteen</i>	siex-, <i>sixtēoþa</i>
seofontiene, <i>seventeen</i>	seofontēoþa
eahtatiene, <i>eighteen</i>	eahtatēoþa
nigontiene, <i>nineteen</i>	nigontēoþa
twēntig, <i>twenty</i>	twēntigoþa
þritig, <i>thirty</i>	þritigoþa
fēowertig, <i>forty</i>	fēowertigoþa
fiftig, <i>fifty</i>	fiftigoþa
siextig, <i>sixty</i>	siextigoþa
hundseofontig, <i>seventy</i>	hundseofontigoþa
hundeahatig, <i>eighty</i>	hundeahatigoþa
hundnigontig, <i>ninety</i>	hundnigontigoþa
hundtēontig } , <i>hundred</i>	hundtēontigoþa
hund, <i>hundred</i> }	
hundendleofantig, 110	hundendleofantigoþa
hundtwelftig, 120	hundtwelftigōþa
tū hund, <i>hundred, 200</i>	
þrēo hund, <i>hundred, 300</i>	
þūsend, <i>thousand</i>	

seox, later siex, six, syx (§ 86). seofon, nigon, tien (later tȳn) had their final -n from the inflected forms, as *sebuni-, &c., or else they were formed, as in Goth. OS. and OHG., from the ordinals in prim. OE. before the n disappeared before þ (§ 286). nigon from older *nīon (= Goth. OHG. niun); *nīon became dissyllabic and then between the two vowels a consonantal glide was developed (cp. § 270). tien, later tȳn, probably from an older inflected form *tēoni-, cp. tēoþa. endleofan (endlefan, enlefan)

from older ***ænlefan**, ***ainina** + **liþan**-, with excrescent **d** developed between the **n** and **l** and weak ending **-an**. **twelf** = Goth. **twalif**. **endleofan** and **twelf** originally meant something like (*ten and*) *one left over*, (*ten and*) *two left over*, cp. Lithuanian **vėnūlika**, *eleven*, **dvylika**, *twelve*, &c., where Goth. **-lif** and Lith. **-lika** are from ***liq**-, the weak form of the Indg. root **leiq**-, *to leave*, and are ultimately related to OE. **līon** (**lēon**), Goth. **leilvan**, *to lend*, Gr. **λείπω**, Lat. **linquō**, *I leave*. The assimilation of ***-lih** to **-lif** first took place in **twalif** because of the preceding labial (§ 237, Note), and then, at a later period, the **-lif** was extended to ***áinlif** (cp. dat. **áinlibim**) for older ***áinlih**. 13 to 19 were formed by the simple ordinals plus the inflected form **-tiene**, later **-týne**.

The decades 20 to 60 were formed in prim. Germanic from the units 2 to 6 and the abstract noun ***tegunð** = Indg. ***dekmt**-, *decade*, whence the Goth. stem-form **tigu**- which went over into the **u**-declension with a plural **tigjus**, as nom. **twái tigjus**, *twenty*, dat. **twáim tigungum**. Prim. Germanic ***tegunð** is a derivative of prim. Germanic ***texun**- (= Indg. ***dékm**, Gr. **δέκα**, Lat. **decem**, Goth. **taíhun**, OE. **tien**) with change of **χ** to **g** by Verner's law (§ 238) and the loss of the final consonants (§ 211). The stem ***tegu**- regularly became **-tig** in OE. and OS., whence OE. **twēntig** from **twēgen** + **tig**, lit. *two decades*, **prītig**, &c. with the following noun in the gen. case; **ān and twēntig**, *twenty-one*, **twā and twēntig**, *twenty-two*, &c. Many attempts have been made to explain the decades 70 to 120, but no satisfactory explanation of their morphology has ever yet been given. The decades could be used both substantively and adjectively. When used as substantives their gen. ended in **-es**; when used as adjectives they were either uninflected or formed their gen. in **-ra**, **-a**, and dat. in **-um**. Instead of **hundseofontig**, **hundehtatig**, &c., the shorter forms **seofontig**, **eahtatig**, were used when

immediately preceded by **hund** = 100, as **hund** and **seofontig** = 170, but **hund** and **seofon** and **hundseofontig** = 177. At a later period the shorter forms became generally used in all positions. Besides the form **hundtēontig**, there were in OE. the two neuter nouns **hund** (= Gr. ἑκατόν, Lat. *centum*, Indg. *kmtóm*), and **hundred**, **-rep** (= O.Icel. *hundrap*); the second element **-red**, **-rep** is related to Gothic *raþjō*, *number*. 200 to 900 were generally expressed by the simple units and **hund** (also sometimes **hundred**, **hundtēontig**), as **twā hund**, **fif hund**, &c. **hund** was usually uninflected, but occasionally it had a dat. ending **-e**, **-um**. **hundred** had a pl. form **hundredu**, when used absolutely. **pūsend** was a neuter noun and was often inflected as such.

The decades, and **hund**, **hundred**, and **pūsend**, being nouns, governed a following noun in the genitive case.

The forms for 'first' are old superlatives of adverbs (§§ 445, Note 2, 446). **ōþer** (Goth. *aþar*, cp. NE. *every other day*) was always declined according to the strong declension of adjectives (§ 429). **þrida** (Goth. *þridja*, Gr. *τρίτος*) with weak stem-form from Indg. **tri-* the weak form of **trei-*, *three*. All the other ordinals were formed from the cardinals by means of the Indg. superlative suffix **-to-** (§ 444), the **t** of which regularly remained unshifted in **fifta**, **siexta**, **endleofta**, **twelfta** (§ 231, Notes). In other positions the **t** became **þ** by the first sound-shifting (§ 231), then **þ** became **ð** by Verner's law (§ 238) in those ordinals which did not originally have the chief accent immediately before the **þ**, and later **nð** became **nd** (§ 253), as Goth. **sibunda*, *niunda*, *taíhunda*, from Indg. **septmtós*, **neuntós*, **dekmtós*. The regular forms of these would have been in OE. **seofonda*, **nigonda*, **tēonda*, but OE. generalized those ordinal forms which in prim. Germanic had the chief accent immediately before the **þ**, whence the OE. new formations **seofopa**, **nigopa**,

tēopa from older *sebunþō, *nijunþō, texunþō. In the decades the medial o may represent the older u in *tegu- (see above). In compound ordinals the cardinal units were generally used, as *fēower* and *fiftigoþa*, *fifty-fourth*, but sometimes the ordinal forms of the units were used with the cardinal decades in the dative, as *fēo(we)rþa ēac fiftigum*. *hund*, *hundred*, and *pūsend* had no corresponding ordinals. All the ordinals, except *ōþer*, were declined according to the weak declension of adjectives.

§ 448. In OE. the cardinals 1 to 3 were declinable in all cases and genders as in the other Germanic languages. *ān* was declined according to the strong (§ 424) or weak declension (§ 440) of adjectives. The strong masc. acc. sing. is generally *ænne* (shortened later to *ænne*, *enne*) from prim. Germanic **aininōn*, beside the less common form *ānne* from **ainanōn*. Strong pl. forms are rare, but they occur occasionally, meaning *each*, *all*, *every one*, *ānra gehwīlc*, *each one*. When declined weak it means *alone*, *solus*.

	Masc.	Neut.	Fem.
Nom. Acc.	twēgen	tū, twā	twā
Gen.	{ twēg(e)a twēgra	{ twēg(e)a twēgra	{ twēg(e)a twēgra
Dat.	twām, twām	twām, twām	twām, twām

The formation of *twēgen* and of the genitive are difficult to explain. *twēg(e)a* cannot correspond to Goth. *twaddjē*, prim. Germanic **twajjōn*, which would have become **twæg(e)a* in OE., cp. § 275. *twām* from prim. Germanic **twaimiz*; *twām* was a new formation from *twā*. *tū* from prim. Germanic **twō* (§ 180); *twā* corresponds to the Goth. masc. form *twái*.

§ 450. Like *twēgen* is also declined *bēgen* (shortened later to *beggen*), *bū* (§ 180), *bā* (Goth. masc. *bái*), *both*.

Also in the combination masc. and fem. *bā twā*, neut. *bū tū*, often written in one word *būtū*, *both*.

§ 451.	Masc.	Neut.	Fem.
Nom. Acc.	<i>þrī, þrīe</i>	<i>þrīo, þrēo</i>	<i>þrīo, þrēo</i>
Gen.	<i>þrīora</i> <i>þrēora</i>	<i>þrīora</i> <i>þrēora</i>	<i>þrīora</i> <i>þrēora</i>
Dat.	<i>þrim</i>	<i>þrim</i>	<i>þrim</i>

þrī (Goth. *preis*) from *prim*. Germanic **þrijiz*; *þrīe* had its *e* from the adjectives (§ 424). *þrīora* was formed from *þrīo* with the ending of the strong adjectives; the regular form would have been **þrīa* from *prim*. Germanic **þrijōn*. *þrim* (Goth. *þrim*) from **þrimiz*; beside *þrim* there also occurs *þrīm* (cp. § 145). Neut. *þrīo* (Goth. *þrija*) from **þrīu* older **þrijō*. Fem. *þrīo* from **þrīu* older **þrijō*.

§ 452. The cardinal numbers 4 to 19 generally remained uninflected when they stood before a noun, whereas, if they stood after a noun or were used as nouns, they were declined according to the i-declension: nom. acc. masc. and fem. *-e*, neut. *-u (-o)*; gen. *-a*, dat. *-um*, as of *fif hlāfum*, *from five loaves*; *mid fēawum brōþrum*, *þæt is, seofonum oþþe eahtum*, *with seven or eight brothers*; *fifa sum*, *one of five*.

2. OTHER NUMERALS.

§ 453. In OE. the multiplicative numeral adjectives were formed from the cardinals and the Germanic suffix for *-fold*, Goth. *-falþs*, OHG. *-falt*, OE. *-feald* (§ 628), as *ānfeald*, *single*, *twie*, *twifeald*, *twofold*, *þrie*, *þrifeald*, *threefold*, *fēowerfeald*, *fourfold*, &c., *manigfeald*, *manifold*, which were declined as ordinary adjectives. The first element of *twifeald*, *þrifeald* was sometimes inflected, as dat. *twæmfealdum*, *þrimfealdum*.

§ 454. Of the old adverbial multiplicatives only three occur: *æne* (rare in gen. form *ænes*), *once*; *tuwa*, *twiwa*,

twywa, *twice*; þriwa, þrywa, *thrice*. The remaining multiplicatives, and often also *once, twice, thrice*, were expressed by sīþ, *going, way*, and the cardinals, as æne sīþa or on ænne sīþ, twām sīþum (Goth. twáim sinþam), fif sīþum (Goth. fimf sinþam), &c.

§ 455. For the *first, second, third, &c. time*, were expressed by sīþ and the ordinals, as forman sīþe, ôpre sīþe, þriddan sīþe, fiftan sīþe, &c.

§ 456. The distributive numerals were ān-, ænliēpige, *one each*; be twām or twām and twām, be þrim or þrim and þrim, fēower and fēower, þūsendum and þūsendum, &c. A remnant of the old distributive numeral corresponding to Gothic tweihnái, *two each*, has been preserved in the compound preposition betwēonum, *between*.

§ 457. OE. also had numerals like NHG. anderthalb, dritt(e)halb, lit. (*one and*) *the second half*, (*two and*) *the third half*. This method of expressing numbers goes back to the prim. Germanic period, and was originally common in all the Germanic languages. Originally both elements of the compound were inflected, but at a later period the compound, when used before nouns, became uninflected like other cardinal numerals, as ôþer healf hund daga, *150 days*; þridda healf, *two and a half*, feō(we)rþa healf, *three and a half*; cp. Gr. τρίτον ἡμιτάλαντον, *two talents and a half*, lit. *third half talent*.

CHAPTER XIII

PRONOUNS

§ 458. The most difficult chapter in works on comparative grammar is the one dealing with the pronouns. It is impossible to state with any degree of certainty how many pronouns the parent Indg. language had and what

forms they had assumed at the time it became differentiated into the various branches which constitute the Indg. family of languages. The difficulty is rendered still more complicated by the fact that most of the pronouns, especially the personal and demonstrative, must have had accented and unaccented forms existing side by side in the parent language itself; and that one or other of the forms became generalized already in the prehistoric period of the individual branches of the parent language. And then at a later period, but still in prehistoric times, there arose new accented and unaccented forms side by side in the individual branches, as e. g. in prim. Germanic **ek**, **mek** beside **ik**, **mik**. The separate Germanic languages generalized one or other of these forms before the beginning of the oldest literary monuments and then new accented beside unaccented forms came into existence again. And similarly during the historic periods of the different languages. Thus, e. g. the OE. for I is **ic**, this became in ME. **ich** accented form beside **i** unaccented form, **ich** then disappeared in standard ME. (but it is still preserved in one of the modern dialects of Somersetshire) and **i** came to be used as the accented and unaccented form. At a later period it became **ī** when accented and remained **i** when unaccented. The former has become NE. **I**, and the latter has disappeared from the literary language, but it is still preserved in many northern Engl. dialects, as **i**. In these dialects **i** is regularly used in interrogative and subordinate sentences; the ME. accented form **ī** has become **ai** and is only used in the dialects to express special emphasis, and from it a new unaccented form **a** has been developed which can only be used in making direct assertions. Thus in one and the same dialect (Windhill, Yorks.) we arrive at three forms: **ai**, **a**, **i**, which are never mixed up syntactically by genuine native dialect speakers. Something similar to what has happened

and still is happening in the modern dialects must also have taken place in the prehistoric and historic periods of all the Indg. languages; hence in the prehistoric forms of the pronouns given below, it must not be assumed that they were the only ones existing in prim. Germanic. They are merely given as the nearest ascertainable forms from which the OE. forms were descended.

I. PERSONAL.

§ 459.

First Person.

	SING.	DUAL.	PLUR.
Nom.	ic, I	wit	wē
Acc.	mec, mē	uncit, unc	ūsic, ūs
Gen.	mīn	uncer	ūser, ūre
Dat.	mē	unc	ūs

§ 460.

Second Person.

Nom.	pū, thou	git	gē
Acc.	þec, þē	incit, inc	ēowic, ēow, iow
Gen.	þīn	incer	ēower, iower
Dat.	þē	inc	ēow, iow

§ 461.

Third Person.

SING.

	Masc.	Neut.	Fem.
Nom.	hē, he	hit	hīo, hēo
Acc.	hine, hiene	hit	hīe
Gen.	his	his	hiere, hire
Dat.	him	him	hiere, hire

PLUR. ALL GENDERS.

Nom. Acc.	hīe, hī
Gen.	hiera, hira, heora
Dat.	him

§ 462. In the parent language the nom. was rarely used except to express emphasis (cp. Skr., Lat., and Gr.), because it was sufficiently indicated by the personal endings of the verb. Beside the accented form of each case of the personal pronouns, there also existed one or more unaccented forms just as in many modern dialects, where we often find three or even four forms for the nom. case of each pronoun. Most of the OE. forms of the personal pronouns represent prim. Germanic unaccented forms.

In forms marked with both long and short vowels, as in *mē*, *þē*, *gē*, &c., those with long vowels were the accented, and those with short vowels were the unaccented forms, see § 95. In the pronouns of the first and second persons the gen. case sing. and pl. were formed from the stem-forms of the possessive pronouns. The *c* in the acc. forms *mec*, *þec*, *ūsic*, *ēowic*, goes back to a prim. Germanic emphatic particle, **ke* = Indg. **ge*, which is found in Gr. pronominal forms like *ἐμέγε*. The acc. forms with *c* only occur in the oldest records and in poetry. *ic* is the old unaccented form, the accented form was preserved in O.Icel. *ek* (cp. Lat. *ego*, Gr. *ἐγώ*). The *e* in *me*, *þe* may represent Indg. *e*, cp. Gr. *ἐμέ* (*μέ*), *τέ*, but it is far more likely that *me*, *þe* are old datives used for the accusative. *þu* (OHG. *du*) beside *pū* (OHG. *dū*), NE. has preserved the old accented, and NHG. the old unaccented form. Dat. *me* (Goth. *mis*, OHG. *mir*), *þe* (OHG. *dir*), prim. Germanic **mes*, **þes* beside unaccented **miz*, **þiz*, with *-s*, *-z* from the dat. plural; OE. *me*, *þe* can represent either form, probably the latter, cp. *wē*, *gē*.

wit (Goth. OS. *wit*), and *git* (OS. *git*) were unaccented plurals with the addition of *-t* which is of obscure origin. There are grave phonological difficulties against assuming that the *-t* is related to the numeral for *two*. Acc. *uncit*, *incit* were formed from *unc*, *inc* with *-it* from the nominative. *unc*, *inc* are old accusatives also used for the dative;

unc (Goth. **ugk**, OS. **unc**) from **un** (which occurs in the acc. pl. **ūs** = Goth. **uns** = Indg. **ns** with vocalic **n**) + the particle ***ke** = prim. Germanic ***uŋki**; **inc** (OS. **ink**, cp. Goth. **igq-is**), prim. Germanic ***iqq-** which is of unknown origin.

we, prim. Germanic ***wīs** (Goth. **weis**) beside the unaccented form ***wiz** (OHG. **wir**); ***wiz** became ***wi** in prim. OE. and then later **we**, from which a new accented form **wē** was formed. **gē** for ***gū** (= Goth. **jus**, prim. Germanic ***jūs** beside ***juz**) with **ē** from **wē**. **ūsic** from older ***unsek** (with **e** from **mec**); **ūs** (Goth. OHG. **uns**, Indg. **ns** with vocalic **n**). **ēowic** from older ***iūwek** (with **e** from **þec**); dat. **ēow** (OHG. **iu**, **eu**) from older ***iūw**, prim. Germanic ***iūwwiz**; **ēow**, **iow** is the old dat. also used for the accusative.

The pronoun of the third person is originally a demonstrative pronoun formed from the Indg. stem ***ki-**, *this*, which occurs in Lat. **hī-ce** (later **hīc**), *this*, **ci-s**, **ci-ter**, *on this side*. It has been preserved in Goth. in only a few isolated phrases, as **und hina dag**, *to this day*; **himma daga**, *on this day, to-day*; **und hita nu**, *till now*.

hē, prim. Germanic ***χis** beside unaccented ***χiz**; ***χiz** became ***χi** in prim. OE. and then later **he** from which a new accented **hē** was formed; **hine** (Goth. **hina**), prim. Germanic ***χinōn**, beside **hiene** with **ie** from **hiere**, **hiera**; **his** from ***χisa**; **him** from ***χimi** (orig. instrumental), **hit** (cp. Goth. **hita**, where the **t** = Lat. **-d** in **id**, *that*). **hīo** later **hēo**, formed from ***hi + ū** with **ū** from **sīo**, **sēo** (§ 465); **hīe** later **hī**, **hȳ**, from ***hi + ōn**; gen. **hire** from ***χizōz**, dat. **hire** from ***χizai**; **hiere** had **ie** from the gen. plural; cp. the prim. Germanic endings of the fem. adjectives (§ 424); the acc. form was often used for the nom. and vice versa. **hī** later **hȳ**, from ***χī**, unaccented ***χi**, beside **hīe** with **e** from the adjectives (§ 424); **hī** was often written **hig** (see § 6, Note) in late OE. The masc. form was used for all genders, but

sometimes the old fem. sing. *hēo* was used instead of it; *hira* from **χizōn*, beside *hiora*, *heora*, *hiera* with *o* a-umlaut (§ 102). *him* from **χimiz*, beside late WS. *heom* with *eo* from the genitive. All the forms with *i* often had *y* in late WS.

2. REFLEXIVE.

§ 463. The reflexive pronoun originally referred to the chief person of the sentence (generally the subject), irrespectively as to whether the subject was the first, second, or third person singular or plural. This usage remained in Sanskrit, but in the Germanic languages, the pronouns of the first and second person came to be used reflexively already in prim. Germanic, and then the original reflexive pronoun became restricted to the third person. But the prim. Germanic reflexive pronoun of the third person **sek*, unaccented **sik* (Goth. *sik*, OHG. *sih*) disappeared in OE., and the old genitive (Goth. *seina*, OHG. *sīn*) only remained as a possessive pronoun. So that the personal pronouns of the third person also came to be used reflexively in OE. When the personal pronouns were used reflexively *self*, *self* (declined strong and weak) was often added to emphasize them.

3. POSSESSIVE.

§ 464. The possessive pronouns *mīn*, *my*, *pīn*, *thy*, *sīn* (mostly used in poetry), *his*, *her*, *its*, are originally old locatives, Indg. **mei*, **tei*, **sei* with the addition of the nominal suffix *-no-*, whence prim. Germanic masc. nom. **mīnaz*, **pīnaz*, **sīnaz*; fem. nom. **mīnō*, **pīnō*, **sīnō*, which were declined in the sing. and plural, all genders, like *blind* (§ 424); but instead of *sīn*, the gen. of the personal pronoun was often used as in Lat. *eius*, gen. pl. *eorum*, *earum*. The remaining possessive pronouns were formed from the personal pronouns by means of the Indg.

comparative suffix *-ero-*, prim. Germanic *-era-*, as *uncer*, *incer*, *ūser*, *ēower*, all of which were declined like *hālig* (§ 429). *ūre* was declined like *wilde* (§ 433) except that the fem. nom. sing. was *ūre* not **ūru*. It is difficult to account for the form *ūre*. In the fem. gen. and dat. sing. and gen. pl. *ūrre*, *ūrra*, the *rr* was often simplified to *r*. In those cases which had syncope of the medial vowel, the *sr* became *ss* (§ 281) in the declension of *ūser*, and then the *ss* was sometimes extended by analogy to the other cases, as nom. sing. *ūsser*, masc. acc. sing. *ūsserne* beside the regular forms *ūser*, *ūserne*.

4. DEMONSTRATIVE.

§ 465. In the parent Indg. language the nom. sing. masc. and fem. of the simple demonstrative was **so*, **sā* = Gr. *ὁ, ἡ*, Goth. *sa, sō*. All the other cases of the sing. and pl. were formed from the stems *te-*, *to-*, *toi-*; *tā-*, *tai-*, as acc. sing. Gr. *τόν, τήν*, Lat. *is-tum, is-tam*, Goth. *þan-a, þō*; nom. pl. Gr. *τοί, ταί*, Lat. *is-tī, is-tae*, Goth. *þái, þōs*.

SING.	Masc.	Neut.	Fem.
Nom.	<i>sē, the, that</i>	<i>þæt</i>	<i>sīo, sēo</i>
Acc.	<i>þone</i>	<i>þæt</i>	<i>þā</i>
Gen.	<i>þæs</i>	<i>þæs</i>	<i>þære</i>
Dat.	<i>þām, þān</i>	<i>þām, þān</i>	<i>þære</i>
Instr.		<i>þȳ, þon</i>	

PLUR. ALL GENDERS.

Nom. Acc.	<i>þā</i>
Gen.	<i>þāra, þāra</i>
Dat.	<i>þām, þām</i>

se was the unaccented form of prim. Germanic **sa* (Goth. *sa*) to which a new accented form *sē* was made (§ 144); *þone* (Goth. *þana*) the unaccented form of prim. Germanic **þanōn*, beside late OE. *þæne, þane*; *þæs* from prim. Germanic **þasa* (§ 54), beside **þesa* (Anglian *þes*, Goth.

pis, OHG. *des*); **þæm** from the prim. Germanic instrumental ***þaimi**, beside **þām** with **ā** from the plural **þā**, **þāra**, as in the dat. pl. **þām**. **þæt** (Goth. *þata*, Lat. *is-tud*, Indg. ***tod**); **þȳ**, **þon** are difficult to explain satisfactorily; they were chiefly used before the comparative of adverbs and as a factor in adverbial and conjunctive phrases like the Goth. instrumental **þē**, as **þon mā**, *the more*, cp. Gothic **ni þē haldis**, *none the more*; for **þȳ**, for **þon**, *because, on that account*. **sīo**, **sēo** does not correspond to Goth. **sō**, but like OHG. *siu*, *she*, it was a new formation from the prim. Germanic fem. pronoun ***sī** (= Gr. *ἡ*, Goth. *si*, OHG. *sī*), *she* + the Germanic fem. ending **-ō**; ***sīō** regularly became **sīo**, **sēo** through the intermediate stage of **sīu** which is found in the Anglian dialect. The reason why the new formation took place was probably due to the fact that the unaccented form of ***sī** would have become **sē** in OE. and thus have fallen together with the masc. nom. sing., cp. OE. **wē**, **hē** from the prim. Germanic unaccented forms ***wiz**, ***χiz** (§ 462); acc. **þā** (prim. Germanic ***þōn**, Goth. *þō*, Gr. Dor. *τῶν*, Indg. ***tām**) is from the unaccented form ***þa** from which a new accented form **þā** was formed; gen. **þære** from ***þaizjōz** (cp. Skr. *táśyās*, Indg. ***tésjās**) with **ai** from the gen. plural; and similarly in the dat. **þære** from ***þaizjai** (cp. Skr. *táśyāi*, Indg. ***tésjāi**), beside **þāre** from ***þaizai**. Pl. nom. masc. **þā** (= Goth. *þái*, Gr. *τοί*); the old nom. was also used for the nom. and acc. all genders; gen. **þāra** from prim. Germanic ***þaizōn**, Indg. ***toisōm** (cp. the Goth. gen. pl. of adjectives, as *blindaizē*, *-ō*), beside **þæra** with **æ** from **þæm**; **þæm** (Goth. *þáim*) from prim. Germanic ***þaimiz**, beside **þām** with **ā** from the genitive, which became **þān** in late WS.

§ 466. The compound demonstrative pronoun **þēs**, **pis**, **þios** (**þēos**), *this*, was originally formed from the simple demonstrative + the deictic particle **-se**, **-si** which is probably related to Goth. *sái*, OHG. *sē*, *lo!*, *behold!* Its earliest

usage was that of an emphatic demonstrative pronoun and then later it came to be used also as a simple demonstrative adjective in much the same way that *this here, these here, that there, them there* (= *those*) are used in most Modern English dialects. Originally only the first element was inflected as in OHG. masc. nom. sing. *de-se*, gen. *des-se*, pl. *de-se*. At a later period the *-se* came to be inflected also, as masc. gen. sing. OHG. *des-ses* = OE. *pis-ses*. At this stage the gen. *pis* (= Goth. *þis*) became extended to most of the other cases. And lastly the first element ceased to be inflected and the second element took in most cases the endings of the simple demonstrative. This compound demonstrative pronoun exists in all the Germanic languages except Gothic. The nom. sing. *þēs, þīos (þēos)* were new formations made from the oblique stem-form with *þ* (§ 465). The old nom. forms were preserved in the oldest Norse inscriptions, as masc. *sa-si*, fem. *su-si*, neut. *þat-si*.

	SING. <i>Masc.</i>	<i>Neut.</i>	<i>Fem.</i>
Nom.	<i>þēs</i>	<i>þis</i>	<i>þīos, þēos</i>
Acc.	<i>þisne</i>	<i>þis</i>	<i>þās</i>
Gen.	<i>þis(s)es</i>	<i>þis(s)es</i>	<i>þisse</i>
Dat.	<i>þis(s)um</i>	<i>þis(s)um</i>	<i>þisse</i>
Instr.		<i>þȳs, þīs</i>	

PLUR. ALL GENDERS.

Nom. Acc.	<i>þās</i>
Gen.	<i>þissa</i>
Dat.	<i>þis(s)um</i>

þes from older **þe-se* (= OHG. *de-se*) was the unaccented form from which a new accented form *þēs* was made. *þīos* from *þīus* (preserved in the Anglian dialect), older **þīū + se* (cp. *sīo*, § 465). The fem. acc. sing., instr., and nom. pl. represent the simple demonstrative forms + *-se* which regularly became *-s*. The other cases singular and plural generalized the *þis*, the *i* of which

later became *y*. *ss* was often simplified to *s*. In the dat. sing. and pl. Anglian has *þios(s)um*, *þeos(s)um* with *u*-umlaut (§ 101) beside *þis(s)um*. Fem. gen. and dat. sing. *þisse* from older **þisre*, gen. pl. *þissa* from older **þisra* (§ 281); in late OE. there also occur *þissere*, *þissera* with *-re*, *-ra* from the simple demonstrative, beside *þisre*, *þisra* with syncope of the medial vowel and simplification of the *ss*.

§ 467. *ilca*, *same*, which only occurs in combination with the def. art., as *sē ilca*, *þæt ilce*, *sēo ilce*, *the same*, is always declined weak.

self, *seolf*, *sylf*, *silf*, *self*, was declined according to the strong or weak declension of adjectives. In combination with the def. art., as *sē selfa*, *seolfa*, it meant *the selfsame*. See § 463.

5. RELATIVE.

§ 468. A relative pronoun proper did not exist in prim. Germanic. The separate Germanic languages expressed it in various ways. In Goth. it was expressed by suffixing the relative particle *ei* to the personal pronouns for the first and second persons, and to the simple demonstrative for the third person; in O.Norse by the particles *sem* and *es* (later *er*) in combination with the simple demonstrative; in OS. and OHG. generally by the simple demonstrative; and in OE. by the relative particle *þē* alone or in combination with the personal or the simple demonstrative pronoun, as *se mon-dryhten*, *sē ēow þā māþmas geaf*, *the lord who gave you the treasures*; *þonne tōdælaþ hī his feoh þæt tō lāfe biþ*, *then they divide his property which is left*. *ic hit ēom*, *þe wiþ þē sprece*, *it is I who speak with thee*; *idesa scēnost þe on woruld cōme*, *the fairest one of ladies who came into the world*; *gē þe yfle synt*, *ye who are evil*. *sē þe brȳd hæfþ*, *sē is brȳdguma*, *he who hath the bride is the bridegroom*; *gehȳre*, *sē þe ēaran hæbbe*, *let him hear who hath ears*; *þæt þe ācenned is of flāsce*, *þæt is flāsc*, *that which is born of the flesh is flesh*. *wē þās*

word sprecap, þe wē in carcerne sittap, *we who sit in prison speak these words*; saga hwæt ic hātte, þe ic lond rēafige, *say what I am called, I who lay waste the land*; þæt se mon ne wāt, þe him on foldan fægrost limpeþ, *the man to whom on earth the fairest happens knows not that*.

6. INTERROGATIVE.

§ 469. The parent Indg. language had two stems from which the interrogative pronoun was formed, viz. *qo-* and *qi-* with labialized *q* (§ 237). The former occurs in Gr. *πό-τερος*, *which of two?*, Goth. *hvas*, OE. *hwā*, *who?*, from an original form **qos*; Lat. *quod*, Goth. *hva*, O.Icel. *huat*, OS. *hwat*, OHG. *hwaz*, OE. *hwæt*, *what?*, from an original form **qod*. And the latter occurs in Gr. *τίς*, Lat. *quis*, *who?*, from an original form **qis*; Goth. *hwileiks*, OE. *hwilc*, *what sort of?*

The OE. simple interrogative pronoun had no independent form for the feminine, and was declined in the singular only.

	MASC.	NEUT.
Nom.	hwā	hwæt
Acc.	hwone	hwæt
Gen.	hwæs	hwæs
Dat.	hwām, hwām	hwām, hwām
Instr.		hwȳ, hwī

On the long vowel in *hwā*, see § 79. *hwone* (Goth. *hwana*) from prim. Germanic **χwanōn*, is the old unaccented form, beside this there rarely occurs the accented form *hwane*, later *hwæne*. *hwæs* from prim. Germanic **χwasa* beside Goth. *hwis* from **χwesa*. *hwām* from prim. Germanic **χwaimi* (instrumental) beside *hwām*, a new formation from *hwā*. Beside the instr. *hwȳ*, *hwī* which are difficult to explain, there also occur *hwon*, in such adverbial phrases as *for hwon*, *tō hwon*, *why?*, and *hū* (§ 130), *how?*

§ 470. *hwæper* (Goth. *hwapar*), *which of two?*, and *hwelc, hwilc* (Goth. *hwileiks*), *what sort of?*, were declined according to the strong declension of adjectives.

7. INDEFINITE.

§ 471. OE. had the following indefinite pronouns:—*æghwā*, *each one, every one*, from *ā*, *ever* + *gi* + *hwa*; and similarly *æghwæper*, *each of two, both*; *æghwelc, æghwilc*, *each one, every one*. *ælc*, *each, every*; *ænig*, *any*, *nænig*, *not any one, no one*; *æthwā*, *each*; *āhwā*, *any one*; *āhwæper, ōhwæper, āwper, ōwper*, *one of two*, *nāhwæper, nōhwæper, nāwper, nōwper*, *neither of two*; *ān*, *some one, a certain one*, in plur. *each, every, all*, *nān*, *no one, nānþing*, *nothing*; *āwiht, ōwiht, āwuht, ōwuht, āht, ōht*, *anything*; *nāwiht, nōwiht, nāwuht, nōwuht, nāht, nōht*, *nothing*; *gehwā*, *each one, every one*; *gehwæper*, *each of two, both*; *gehwilc*, *each, every one*; *hwelchwugu*, *any, some, some one*; *hwæthwugu*, *somewhat, something*; *lōc, lōca* + pronoun *hwā, hwæper*, as *lōc hwæper þæra gebrōþra*, *whichever of the two brothers*, *bide me lōce hwæs þū wille*, *ask me for whatever thou wilt*; *man*, *one*; *nāt + hwā, hwelc*, *some one I know not who, which*; *samhwilc*, *some*; *sum*, *some one*; *swā . . . swā*, as *swā hwā swā*, *whosoever, whoever*, *swā hwæt swā*, *whatsoever, whatever*, *swā hwæper swā*, *whichever of two*, *swā hwelc swā*, *whichever*; *swelc, swilc*, *such*; *þyslic, þuslic, þyllic, þullic*, *such*.

CHAPTER XIV

VERBS

§ 472. In the parent Indg. language the verbs were divided into two great classes: athematic and thematic. In the athematic verbs the personal endings were added to the bare root which had the strong grade form of

ablaut in the singular, but the weak grade in the dual and plural. Thus for example the singular and plural of the verbs for 'to be', and 'to go' were: ***és-mi**, ***és-si**, ***és-ti**, ***s-més** or ***s-mós**, ***s-té**, ***s-énti**; ***éi-mi**, ***éi-si**, ***éi-ti**, ***i-més** or ***i-mós**, ***i-té**, ***j-énti**. Verbs of this class are often called **mi**-verbs because the first person singular ends in **-mi**. The Germanic languages have only preserved a few traces of the **mi**-conjugation (§ 547). Nearly all the verbal forms, which originally belonged to this class, passed over into the **ō**-conjugation in the prim. Germanic period.

In the thematic verbs the stem-vowel, which could be either of the strong or weak grade of ablaut, remained unchanged throughout the present; in the former case they are called imperfect presents (as **cēosan**, *to choose*; **helpan**, *to help*; **etan**, *to eat*; &c.), and in the latter case aorist presents (as OE. **lūcan**, *to close*; **murnan**, *to mourn*; &c.). The present was formed by means of the thematic vowels, **e**, **o**, which came between the root and the personal endings, thus the present singular and plural of the verb for 'to bear' was ***bhérō** (from ***bhér-o-a**), ***bhér-e-si**, ***bhér-e-ti**, ***bhér-o-mes**, (**-mos**), ***bhér-e-te**, ***bhér-o-nti**. Verbs of this class are generally called **ō**-verbs because the first person singular ends in **-ō**. The old distinction between the **mi**- and the **ō**-conjugation was fairly well preserved in Greek, as **εἰμί**, *I am*, **εἶμι**, *I go*, **δίδωμι**, *I give*; **μένω**, *I remain*, **πείθω**, *I persuade*; **τρίβω**, *I rub*, **τόφω**, *I smoke*.

§ 473. In treating the history of the verbal forms in OE. it is advisable to start out partly from prim. Germanic and partly from the oldest OE. The Indg. verbal system underwent so many radical changes in prim. Germanic that it would be necessary to treat here in detail the verbal system of the non-Germanic languages such as Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin in order to account for all the changes.

In the Germanic languages the verbs are divided into two great classes:—Strong and Weak. The strong verbs form their preterite (originally perfect) and past participle by means of ablaut (§ 224). The weak verbs form their preterite by the addition of a syllable containing a dental (Goth. **-da**, **(-ta)**, OE. **-de**, **-te**), and their past participle by means of a dental suffix (Goth. **-þ**, **(-t)**, OE. **-d**, **(-t)**).

Besides these two great classes of strong and weak verbs, there are a few others which will be treated under the general heading of *Minor Groups*.

The strong verbs were originally further sub-divided into reduplicated and non-reduplicated verbs, as Goth. **haldan**, *to hold*, **lētan**, *to let*, preterite **haíhald**, **laíló̃t**; **niman**, *to take*, **hilpan**, *to help*, preterite **nam**, **halp**. In OE. the reduplication almost entirely disappeared in the prehistoric period of the language (§ 511). The non-reduplicated verbs are divided into six classes according to the six ablaut-series (§ 226). The originally reduplicated verbs are put together in this book and called class VII.

§ 474. The OE. verb has the following independent forms:—one voice (active), two numbers, three persons, two tenses (present and preterite), two complete moods (indicative, and subjunctive, the latter originally the optative), besides an imperative which is only used in the present tense; two verbal nouns (present infinitive and present participle), and one verbal adjective (the past participle).

The simple future was generally expressed by the present tense as in the oldest periods of the other Germanic languages, but already in OE. the present forms of **bēon**, *to be*, **sculan**, *shall*, **willan**, *will*, with the infinitive began to be used to express the future. In the oldest OE. the perfect of transitive verbs was formed by means of the forms of **habban**, *to have*, and the past participle, and that of intransitive verbs by means of **wesan**, *to be*, and the past

participle. At a later period **habban** came to be used to form the perfect of intransitive verbs also. The only trace of the old passive voice preserved in OE. is **hätte** (Goth. **háitada**), *is or was called*, pl. **hätton**. Otherwise the passive was expressed by the forms of **bēon**, **wesan**, *to be*, occasionally also **weorþan**, *to become*, and the past participle.

A. STRONG VERBS.

§ 475. We are able to conjugate a strong verb in OE. when we know the four stems, as seen (1) in the infinitive or first pers. sing. pres. indicative, (2) first pers. sing. pret. indicative, (3) first pers. pl. pret. indicative, (4) the past participle. The pret. subjunctive and the second pers. pret. indicative have the same stem-vowel as the pret. pl. indicative. The conjugation of **beran**, *to bear*, **helpan**, *to help*, **bindan**, *to bind*, **rīdan**, *to ride*, **cēosan**, *to choose*, **weorpan**, *to throw*, **faran**, *to go*, **biddan**, *to pray*, **feallan**, *to fall*, **tēon**, *to draw*, **slēan**, *to slay*, **fōn**, *to seize*, will serve as models for all strong verbs, because in addition to verbal endings, one or other of them illustrates such phenomena as umlaut, the interchange between **i** and **e** in the pres. indic. of verbs belonging to classes III, IV, and V, breaking, vowel contraction, vowel syncope, the simplification of double consonants, Verner's law, and the consonant changes in the second and third pers. sing. of the pres. indicative.

Present.

Indicative.

Sing.	1. bere	helpe	binde	rīde
	2. bir(e)st	hilpst	bintst	rītst
	3. bir(e)þ	hilpp	bint	rīt(t)
Plur.	beraþ	helpaþ	bindaþ	rīdaþ

Subjunctive.

Sing.	bere	helpe	binde	rīde
Plur.	beren	helpen	binden	rīden

Imperative.

Sing. 2.	ber	help	bind	rīd
Plur. 2.	beraþ	helpaþ	bindaþ	rīdaþ

Infinitive.

	beran	helpan	bindan	rīdan
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Participle.

	berende	helpende	bindende	rīdende
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Preterite.

Indicative.

Sing. 1.	bær	healp	band	rād
2.	bære	hulpe	bunde	ride
3.	bær	healp	band	rād
Plur.	bæron	hulpon	bundon	ridon

Subjunctive.

Sing.	bære	hulpe	bunde	ride
Plur.	bæren	hulpen	bunden	riden

Participle.

	boren	holpen	bunden	riden
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Present.

Indicative.

Sing. 1.	cēose	weorpe	fare	bidde
2.	cīest	wierpst	fær(e)st	bitst
3.	cīest	wierpþ	fær(e)þ	bit(t)
Plur.	cēosaþ	weorpaþ	farapþ	biddaþ

Subjunctive.

Sing.	cēose	weorpe	fare	bidde
Plur.	cēosen	weorpen	faren	bidden

Imperative.

Sing. 2.	cēos	weorp	far	bide
Plur. 2.	cēosaþ	weorpaþ	farap	biddaþ

Infinitive.

cēosan	weorpan	faran	biddan
--------	---------	-------	--------

Participle.

cēosende	weorpende	farende	biddende
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Preterite.

Indicative.

Sing. 1.	cēas	wearp	fōr	bæd
2.	cure	wurpe	fōre	bæde
3.	cēas	wearp	fōr	bæd
Plur.	curon	wurpon	fōron	bædon

Subjunctive.

Sing.	cure	wurpe	fōre	bæde
Plur.	curen	wurpen	fōren	bæden

Participle.

coren	worpen	faren	beden
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Present.

Indicative.

Sing. 1.	fealle	tēo	slēa	fō
2.	fīelst	tīehst	sliehst	fēhst
3.	fīelþ	tīehþ	sliehþ	fēhþ
Plur.	feallaþ	tēoþ	slēaþ	fōþ

Subjunctive.

Sing.	fealle	tēo	slēa	fō
Plur.	feallen	tēon	slēan	fōn

Imperative.				
Sing. 2.	feall	tēoh	sleah	fōh
Plur. 2.	feallaþ	tēoþ	slēaþ	fōþ
Infinitive.				
	feallan	tēon	slēan	fōn
Participle.				
	feallende	tēonde	slēande	fōnde
<i>Preterite.</i>				
Indicative.				
Sing. 1.	fēoll	tēah	slōh, slōg	fēng
	2. fēolle	tuge	slōge	fēnge
	3. fēoll	tēah	slōh, slōg	fēng
Plur.	fēollon	tugon	slōgon	fēngon
Subjunctive.				
Sing.	fēolle	tuge	slōge	fēnge
Plur.	fēollen	tugen	slōgen	fēngen
Participle.				
	feallen	togen	slægen	fangen

THE ENDINGS OF STRONG VERBS.

§ 476. Pres. indicative : The Indg. and prim. Germanic ending of the first pers. sing. was **-ō** (cp. Lat. *ferō*, Gr. *φέρω*, Indg. **bhérō*, *I bear*) which became **-u** (later **-o**) in prim. OE. (§ 214). The **-u** (**-o**) regularly remained after short stems and disappeared after long stems, as *beru*, **-o** beside **help*, **bind* (§ 215), but already in prehistoric OE. the verbs with long stems took **-u** again after the analogy of those with short stems. The Anglian dialect mostly preserved the **-u** (**-o**), but in early WS. and Ken. its place was taken by **-e** from the pres. subjunctive.

The prim. Germanic forms of the second pers. sing. of **beran** and **bindan** were ***birizi**, ***bindīzi** = Indg. ***bhéresi**, ***bhéndhesi**, which would regularly have become ***bire** (older ***birī**), ***bind** in OE. (§§ 211, 215), but already in prehistoric OE. the second pers. sing. of strong verbs was remodelled on the analogy of the first class of weak verbs which did not have the chief accent on the stem in prim. Germanic (§ 239, Note 2). The oldest OE. forms were **biris**, **bindis** which regularly became later **bires**, **bindes** (§ 215, Note). The ending **-st** arose partly from analogy with the preterite-present forms **wāst**, **þearft**, **scealt**, &c. and partly from a false etymological division of the pronoun from the verb to which it was often attached enclitically, thus **birisþu** became **biristu**, from which **birist** was extracted as the verbal form, cp. the similar process in OHG. The ending **-st** occurs earliest in the contracted verbs, **tiehst**, **sliehst**, &c.

The prim. Germanic forms of the third pers. sing. of **beran** and **bindan** were ***birīdi** (= OS. **birid**, OHG. **birit**), ***bindīdi** = Indg. ***bhéreti**, ***bhéndheti**, which would regularly have become ***bired**, older ***birid**, and ***bind(d)** in OE., but already in prehistoric OE. the third pers. sing. like the second was remodelled on analogy with the first class of weak verbs. The oldest OE. forms were **birip**, **bindip**, later **bir(e)þ**, **bint** (§ 300). The **-eþ** became **-es** in late Nth.

In the second and third pers. sing. the **-i** (**-e**) was regularly syncopated after long stems, as **hilpst**, **hilpþ**, **rīst**, **rīt(t)**, **tiehst**, **tiehþ**, &c., and remained after short stems, as **birest**, **bireþ**, **færest**, **færeþ**, &c. (§ 221), but there are many exceptions to this rule, especially in WS. and Ken., owing to new formations in both directions, as **bindest**, **bindeþ**, **hilpest**, **hilpeþ**, &c., and on the other hand **birst**, **birþ**, **færst**, **færþ**, &c. In Anglian the forms without syncope were almost entirely generalized, but in

WS. and Ken. syncope was almost quite general, especially after voiceless consonants and after *d*, *f* (= *b*), and *g*, but as a rule not after a single liquid or a nasal.

The loss of *-e-* in the second and third pers. sing. gave rise to various consonantal changes: Double consonants were simplified before the personal endings (§ 259), as *fielst*, *fielþ*, *spinst*, *spinþ*, beside inf. *feallan*, *spinnan*.

d became *t* before *-st*, as *bintst*, *bitst*, *rītst*, *wieltst* beside *wealdan*, *to wield*. *d* and *t* + *þ* became *tt* (common in the older period), later *t*, as *bint*, *bit(t)*, *rīt(t)*; *birst*, *it(t)*, beside inf. *berstan*, *to burst*, *etan*, *to eat*, see § 300. Forms like *bindest*, *bidst*, *wieldst*; *bindeþ*, *bid(e)þ*, &c. were new formations after the analogy of forms which regularly had *d*.

After a long vowel, diphthong, or liquid, *g* became *h* before *-st*, *þ* (§ 320, Note), as *stīhst*, *stīhþ*, inf. *stīgan*, *to ascend*, *flīehst*, *flīehþ*, inf. *flēogan*, *to fly*, *swilhst*, *swilhþ*, inf. *swelgan*, *to swallow*, but the *g* was often restored from forms which regularly had *g*.

s, *ss*, *st* + *-st*, *þ* became *-st* (§§ 259, 305), as *cīest*; *cyst* beside inf. *wv. cyssan*, *to kiss*, *birst* beside *birstest*, *birsteþ* (new formations); *x* (= *hs*) + *-st*, *þ* became *xt*, as *wiext* beside inf. *weaxan*, *to grow*. In verbs of this type the second and third pers. singular regularly fell together.

þ disappeared before *-st* (§ 305), as *cwist*, *wierst*, beside inf. *cwēpan*, *to say*, *weorþan*, *to become*. Forms like *cwīpst*, *wierþst*, *snīpst* (inf. *snīpan*, *to cut*), were new formations after the analogy of the other forms of the present. *þ* + *þ* became *þ*, as *cwīþ*, *wierþ*.

The forms of the first and second pers. plural had disappeared already in the oldest period of the language, their place having been taken by the form of the third person. The prim. Germanic forms of the third pers. pl. of *beran*, *bindan* were **berandi*, **bindandi* = Indg. **bhéronti*, **bhéndhonti*, which would regularly have

become in OE. **berand*, **bindand* = Goth. *baírand*, *bindand*, but, as in the second and third pers. singular, the third pers. pl. was remodelled on analogy with the first class of weak verbs which regularly had *-ánþi* in prim. Germanic. *-ánþi* became *-aþ* in OE. through the intermediate stages *-anþ*, *-onþ*, *-ōþ* (§ 218). *-aþ* became *-as* in late Nth. This *-s* plural has been preserved in the Modern northern dialects when the subject is not a simple personal pronoun placed immediately before or after the verb.

§ 477. Pres. subjunctive: This tense is properly an old optative. The original forms of the singular and plural of *beran* were **bhéro-i*, **bhérois*, **bhéroit*, **bhéroim*, **bhéroite*, **bhéroint*. The final *-t* was regularly dropped in prim. Germanic (§ 211) and the *oi* became *ai* during the same period (§ 30). Then *ai* became *æ* which was shortened to *æ* (§ 217). The *æ* was preserved in the oldest period of the language and afterwards became *e*. In OE. the original forms of the singular regularly fell together in *bere*. The old forms of the first and second pers. plural disappeared and their place was taken by the third pers. *beren*. Beside *-en* there also occurs in late WS. *-an*, and also *-un*, *-on* taken over from the pret. pl. indicative. On the loss of final *-n* in Nth., see § 288. The final *-n* also disappeared in WS. and Ken. when a personal pronoun of the first or second person came immediately after the verb, as *bere wě*, *wit*, *gě*, *git*. Then *bere wě*, &c., came to be used also for the indicative and imperative.

§ 478. Imperative: The original ending of the second pers. sing. was *-e* which regularly disappeared without leaving any trace of its former existence (§ 213), whence OE. *ber* = Gr. *φέρε*, Indg. **bhére*. On the *-e* in *bide* beside its absence in *ber*, *bind*, &c., see § 273. In OE. the third pers. plural of the pres. indicative was used for the second pers. plural. A form in *-an*, as *beran*, *bindan*, was occasionally used in the oldest period of the language for

the first pers. plural. This form was originally identical with the first pers. pl. pres. indic. which disappeared in OE. The first pers. pl. is generally expressed by the pres. subjunctive, as **beren**, **binden**, &c.

§ 479. Pres. participle: In the parent language the stem of the pres. participle ended in **-nt**, as in Lat. **ferent**, Gr. **φέρωντ**, Indg. ***bhéront** = OE. **berend-e**, Goth. **baírand-s**. The masc. and neut. were originally declined like consonant stems* (§ 416). The fem. nom. sing. originally ended in **-ī** which was shortened to **-i** (§ 214) in prehistoric OE., cp. Goth. fem. **frijōndi**, *friend*. The **-i** of the feminine was extended to the masc. and neut. which was the cause of their passing over into the **ja**-declension (§ 433). See § 441. The oldest OE. ending is **-ændi**, **-endi**, later **-ende**.

§ 480. Infinitive: The inf. was originally a nomen actionis, formed by means of various suffixes in the different Indg. languages. The suffix **-ono-**, to which was added the nom. acc. neuter ending **-m**, became generalized in prim. Germanic, thus the original form of **beran** was ***bhéronom**, the **-onom** of which regularly became **-an** in OE. Goth. OS. and OHG. On the loss of the final **-n** in Nth., see § 288. In prim. West Germanic the inf. was inflected in the gen. and dat. like an ordinary noun of the **ja**-declension (§ 355), gen. **-ennes**, dat. **-enne**. The inflected forms of the inf. are sometimes called the gerund. The gen. disappeared in prehistoric OE. The dat. **tō berenne** generally became **-anne** through the influence of the inf. ending **-an**. Beside **-enne**, **-anne** there also occur in late OE. **-ene**, **-ane**, and **-ende** with **d** from the present participle.

§ 481. Pret. indicative: The pret. indic. is morphologically an old perfect, which already in prim. Germanic was chiefly used to express the past tense. The original endings of the perf. singular were **-a**, **-tha**, **-e**, cp. Gr. **οἶδα**, **οἶσθα**, **οἶδε**. The **-a** and **-e** regularly disappeared in pre-

historic OE. (§§ 212-13), whence OE. first and third pers. singular *bær*, *band*, &c. The ending of the second pers. singular would regularly have become *-þ* (§ 233) in OE. OS. O.Icel. and Goth., except after prim. Germanic *s*, *f*, *h* where it regularly became *t* (§ 231, Notes), as in Goth. *last*, *thou didst gather*, *slōht*, *thou didst slay*, *þarft* (OE. *pearft*), *thou needest*. This *-t* became generalized in prim. Germanic, as Goth. O.Icel. *namt*, *thou tookest*. But in the West Germanic languages the old ending was only preserved in the preterite-present verbs, as OE. *pearft*, *thou needest*, *scealt*, *thou shalt*, *meaht*, *thou mayest*, &c. See § 539 ff. The third pers. plural ended in the parent language in *-nt* (with vocalic *n*) which regularly became *-un* in prim. Germanic (§§ 35, 211). *-un* remained in the oldest OE. and then later became *-on*, and in late OE. *-an* beside *-on* occurs, whence *bæron*, *bundon*, &c.

§ 482. Pret. subjunctive: The original endings were: singular *-jēm*, *-jēs*, *-jēt*, plural *-īm*, *-īte*, *-īnt*, consisting of the optative element *-jē-*, (*-ī-*) and the personal endings. Already in prim. Germanic the *-ī-* of the plural was levelled out into the singular. The new sing. endings *-īm*, *-īs*, *-īt* would regularly have become *-i* (§§ 214, 218) in the oldest OE. The *-i* would have caused umlaut in the stem-syllable and then have disappeared after long stems and have remained (later *-e*) after short stems. Regular forms would have been **bynd*, **hylp*, **fēr*, &c., but **cyre*, **tyge*, &c. The pl. ending *-īnt* would regularly have become *-in* (later *-en*) with umlaut in the stem-syllable, as **bynden*, **cyren*, &c. But real old pret. subjunctive forms have only been preserved in OE. in a few isolated instances as in the preterite-presents, *dyge*, *scyle*, *pyrfe*. In OE. the old endings of the pres. subjunctive came to be used for the preterite some time before the operation of *i*-umlaut. This accounts for the absence of umlaut in the pret. subjunctive in OE., as *bunde*, *bunden*, &c. Already

in early OE. the pret. subjunctive began to take the endings of the pret. indicative. On the loss of the final *-n* in Nth., see § 288. The final *-n* also disappeared in WS. and Ken. when a personal pronoun of the first or second person came immediately after the verb, as *bære wē, wit, gē, git*. Then later *bære wē, &c.*, came to be used also for the indicative.

§ 483. Past participle: The past participle was formed in various ways in the parent language. In prim. Germanic the suffix *-éno-*, *-óno-* became restricted to strong verbs, and the suffix *-tó-* to weak verbs. In the strong verbs OE. and O.Icel. generalized the form *-éno-*, and Goth. OS. and OHG. the form *-óno-*. Beside the suffix *-éno-*, *-óno-* there also existed in prim. Germanic *-ini-* = Indg. *-éni-* which was preserved in a few OE. past participles with umlaut in the stem-syllable, see § 442. Prim. Germanic *-énaz*, *-íniz* = Indg. *-énos*, *-énis* regularly fell together in *-en* in OE., but they were still kept apart in the oldest period of the language, the former being *-æen* (*-en*) and the latter *-in*.

GENERAL REMARKS ON THE STRONG VERBS.

§ 484. Present indicative: On the interchange between *i* in the second and third pers. sing. and *e* in the other forms of the present in verbs belonging to classes III, IV, and V, as *hilpst, hilpþ: helpen, to help; bir(e)st, bir(e)þ: beran, to bear; cwist, cwipþ: cweþan, to say*, see § 41. *i*-umlaut took place in the second and third pers. sing. of all verbs containing a vowel or diphthong capable of being umlauted. On the *i*-umlaut in verbs of class VI, as *fær(e)st, fær(e)þ*, see § 55, Note 2. On the Anglian forms of the second and third pers. sing. of verbs like *cēosan, tēon*, see § 138. The regular forms of the second and third pers. sing. were often remodelled on analogy with

the other forms of the present, especially in the Anglian dialect, as **help(e)st**, **help(e)þ**; **fealst**, **fealþ**, **feallest**, **fealleþ**; **weorpest**, **weorpeþ**, beside older **hīlpst**, **hīlpþ**; **fīelst**, **fīelþ**; **wierpst**, **wierpþ**.

On **u-** or **o/a-**umlaut of **a**, **e** in the first pers. sing., and the pl. in the non-WS. dialects, see § 48. On the breaking of Germanic **a** to **ea**, as in **feallan**, **healp**, **wearp**, and of **e** to **eo**, as in **weorpan**, see § 49. On the vowel contraction in the present of the contracted verbs, see § 139.

Strong verbs like **biddan**, *to pray*, **hliehhan**, *to laugh*, **licgan**, *to lie down*, **sittan**, *to sit*, had single medial consonants in the second and third pers. sing., because the **j**, which caused the doubling of the consonants in the other forms of the present, had disappeared before the West Germanic doubling of consonants took place, whence **bitst**, **bit(t)**; **hliehst**, **hliehþ**; **lig(e)st**, **lig(e)þ**; **sitst**, **sit(t)**.

§ 485. Infinitive: On the **o/a-**umlaut in the non-WS. dialects, see § 48.

§ 486. Pret. indicative: The West Germanic languages only preserved the old pret. (originally perfect) of the second pers. sing. in the preterite-present verbs (see §§ 481, 539). In all other strong verbs the OE. second pers. sing. was formed direct from the pret. subjunctive, which accounts for the absence of **i-**umlaut in the stem-syllable and the preservation of the final **-e** after both short and long stems, as **ride**, **cure**, &c., and **bære**, **hulpe**, **bunde**, &c. The regular forms would have been **ride**, ***cyre**, and ***bær**, ***hylp**, ***bynd**.

On the question of **u-**umlaut in the plural of verbs belonging to class I, see § 101.

§ 487. Pret. subjunctive: If the OE. pret. subjunctive had been normally developed from the corresponding prim. Germanic forms, it would have had **i-**umlaut in the stem-syllable as in O. Icelandic. But this tense took the endings of the pres. subjunctive in the prehistoric period

of the language before the operation of i-umlaut. See § 482.

§ 488. Past Participle: The ending of the past participle has already been explained in § 442. In prim. Germanic the prefix **gi-* was added to the past participle to impart to it a perfective meaning. Verbs which were already perfective in meaning, such as *bringan*, to bring, *cuman*, to come, *findan*, to find, *niman*, to take, *weorþan*, to become, did not originally have it. But in OE. the simple past participle generally had *ge-*, irrespectively as to whether it was perfective or imperfective in meaning. On past participles which have i-umlaut, see § 442.

§ 489. On the parts of strong verbs which exhibit Verner's law in OE., see § 238.

THE CLASSIFICATION OF THE STRONG VERBS.

CLASS I.

§ 490. The verbs of this class belong to the first ablaut-series (§ 226) and therefore have *ī* in all forms of the present, *ā* in the first and third pers. sing. of the preterite, and *i* in the preterite plural and past participle, thus:

	<i>bidan</i> , to await	<i>bād</i>	<i>bidon</i>	<i>biden</i>
Goth.	<i>beidan</i>	<i>báiþ</i>	<i>bidun</i>	<i>bidans</i>

And similarly *æt-witan*, to blame, reproach; *āc-wīnan*, to dwindle away; *behlīdan*, to cover; *belīfan*, to remain; *bescītan*, to befoul; *besmītan*, to pollute; *bītan*, to bite; *blīcan*, to shine; *cīnan*, to crack; *clīfan*, to stick, adhere; *cnīdan*, to beat; *drīfan*, to drive; *dwīnan*, to dwindle; *flītan*, to strive, quarrel; *gewītan*, to depart; *gīnan*, to yawn; *glīdan*, to glide; *gnīdan*, to rub together; *grīpan*, to seize; *hnītan*, to knock; *hrīnan*, to touch; *hwīnan*, to whizz; *nīpan*, to grow dark; *rīdan*, to ride; *sīcan*, to sigh; *scīnan* (§ 133, Note 2), to shine; *scrīfan*, to prescribe; *slīdan*, to slide; *slītan*, to slit; *snīcan*, to crawl; *spīwan* (§ 265), to spew, spit; *strīcan*, to stroke; *strīdan*, to stride; *swīcan*,

to cease from ; *swifan*, to sweep ; *tōslifan*, to split ; *þwīnan*, to grow soft ; *þwītan*, to hew ; *wīcan*, to yield, give way ; *wlitan*, to gaze ; *wridan*, to grow, flourish ; *writan*, to write. *stīgan*, to ascend, pret. sing. *stāg* beside *stāh* (§ 323) ; and similarly *hnīgan*, to incline ; *mīgan*, to make water ; *sīgan*, to sink.

§ 491. *snīpan*, to cut *snāþ* *snidon* *sniden*

And similarly *līpan*, to go ; *scriþan*, to go, proceed. See § 239. In *ārīsan*, to arise ; *gerīsan*, to beset ; *mīþan*, to avoid ; *wriþan*, to twist, the *s*, *þ* of the present was extended to all forms of the verb.

§ 492. *tīon*, *tēon*, to accuse *tāh* *tigon* *tigen*

tīon, *tēon*, from older **tīohan*, **tīhan* (§ 127) ; on the *g* in the pret. pl. and past participle, see § 239. In the pres. the *eo* from older *io* regularly fell together with the *eo* from Germanic *eu* (§ 137) which was the cause of verbs of this type often forming their preterite and past participle after the analogy of class II (§ 495), as *tēah*, *tugon*, *togen* ; and similarly *lēon*, to lend ; *sēon*, to strain ; *þēon*, to thrive ; *wrēon*, to cover. *þēon* from prim. Germanic **þiŋxanan* (§ 41) originally belonged to class III ; the regular principal parts in OE. would have been *þēon*, **þōh* (§ 40), *þungon*, *þungen*, all of which occur except **þōh*. The regular past participles of *lēon* (Goth. *leilvan*) and *sēon* (prim. Germanic **sīxwan*.) were **liwen*, *siwen* with *w* from prim. Germanic *gw* (§ 241) ; *ligen*, *sigen* were formed on analogy with the other verbs of this type.

CLASS II.

§ 493. The verbs of this class belong to the second ablaut-series (§ 226) and therefore have *eo* in the present, *ēa* in the first and third pers. sing. of the preterite, *u* in the pret. plural, and *o* in the past participle, thus :

<i>bēodan</i> , to command	<i>bēad</i>	<i>budon</i>	<i>boden</i>
Goth. <i>biudan</i>	<i>báuþ</i>	<i>budun</i>	<i>budans</i>

And similarly *āþrēotan*, to tire of; *brēotan*, to break, destroy; *clēofan*, to cleave asunder; *crēopan*, to creep; *drēopan*, to drip; *flēotan*, to flow; *gēopan*, to take to oneself; *gēotan*, to pour; *grēotan*, to weep; *hlēotan*, to cast lots; *lēodan*, to grow; *nēotan*, to use, enjoy; *rēocan*, to smoke, reek; *rēodan*, to redden; *rēotan*, to weep; *scēotan*, to shoot; *smēocan*, to smoke; *þēotan*, to howl. *drēogan*, to endure, pret. sing. *drēag* beside *drēah* (§ 323); and similarly *flēogan*, to fly; *lēogan*, to tell lies. *brēowan*, to brew, pret. sing. *brēaw* (§ 265); and similarly *cēowan*, to chew; *hrēowan*, to repent of, rue.

§ 494. *cēosan*, to choose *cēas* *curon* *coren*

And similarly *drēosan*, to fall; *forlēosan*, to lose; *frēosan*, to freeze; *hrēosan*, to fall; *sēoþan* (*sudon*, *soden*), to boil. See § 239. *ābrēoþan*, to perish, ruin, extended the *þ* to all parts of the verb.

§ 495. *tēon*, to draw *tēah* *tugon* *togen*

tēon (Goth. *tiuhan*) from **tēohan* (§ 139); on the *g* in the pret. plural and past participle, see § 239; and similarly *flēon*, to flee.

§ 496. Here belong also the aorist presents with weak grade vowel in all forms of the present (§ 472).

brūcan, to use *brēac* *brucon* *brocen*

And similarly *dūfan*, to dive; *hrūtan*, to snore; *lūcan*, to lock; *lūtan*, to incline, bow down; *scūfan*, to push, shove; *slūpan*, to slip; *sūcan*, to suck; *sūpan*, to sup; *strūdan*, to pillage; *þūtan*, to howl. *būgan*, to bend, pret. sing. *bēag* beside *bēah* (§ 323); and similarly *smūgan*, to creep; *sūgan*, to suck.

CLASS III.

§ 497. The verbs of this class belong to the third ablaut-series (§ 226), and include the strong verbs having a medial nasal or liquid + consonant, and a few others in which the

vowel is followed by two consonants other than a nasal or liquid + consonant.

§ 498. Verbs with nasal + consonant had *i* in all forms of the present, *a*, *o* (§ 59) in the first and third pers. sing. of the preterite, and *u* in the preterite pl. and past participle, thus :

	<i>bindan</i> , to bind	<i>band</i> (bond)	<i>bundon</i>	<i>bunden</i>
Goth.	<i>bindan</i>	<i>band</i>	<i>bundun</i>	<i>bundans</i>

And similarly *ācwincan*, to vanish; *climban*, to climb; *clingan*, to shrink; *crimman*, to insert; *crincan*, *cringan*, to fall, succumb; *drincan*, to drink; *gelimpan*, to happen; *grimman*, to rage; *grindan*, to grind; *hlimman*, to resound; *hrindan*, to push; *linnan*, to cease; *onginnan*, to begin; *rinnan*, to run, flow; *scrinan*, *scringan*, to shrink; *sinnan*, to meditate; *slincan*, to slink, creep; *spinnan*, to spin; *springan*, to leap; *stincan*, to stink; *stingan*, to sting; *þindan*, to swell; *þringan*, to throng, press; *þrintan*, to swell; *windan*, to wind; *winnan*, to toil, fight; *wringan*, to wring. On *sincan* (Goth. *sigqan*), to sink; *singan* (Goth. *siggwan*), to sing; *swincan*, to toil; *swindan*, to disappear; *swingan*, to swing; *swimman*, to swim, see § 249. The regular principal parts of *findan* (Goth. *finþan*) would have been *fīþan* (§ 97), *fōþ* (§ 64), *fundon*, *funden* (§ 239); the present, and the pret. sing. *fand* were formed on analogy with verbs like *bindan*; beside *fand* there occurs *funde* which is the second pers. sing. also used for the first and third. On *biernan* (Goth. *brinnan*), to burn, *barn* (Goth. *brann*), *born* (later *bearn*), *burnon*, *burnen*; and *iernan* (Goth. *rinnan*, see above), to run, *arn* (Goth. *rann*), *orn* (later *earn*), *urnon*, *urnen*, see § 98, Note 3.

§ 499. Verbs with *l* + cons. except *lc* (§ 84) have *e* in the present, *ea* (§ 64) in the first and third pers. sing. of the preterite, *u* in the pret. plural, and *o* in the past participle (§ 43), thus :

helpan, <i>to help</i>	healp	hulpon	holpen
Goth. hilpan	halp	hulpun	hulpans

And similarly *belgan*, *to swell with anger*; *bellan*, *to bellow*; *beteldan*, *to cover*; *delfan*, *to dig*; *meltan*, *to melt*; *swelgan*, *to swallow*; *swellan*, *to swell*; *sweltan* (§ 249), *to die*. *gieldan* (§ 91), *to yield*, *geald*, *guldun*, *golden*; and similarly *giellan*, *to yell*; *gielpa*, *to boast*.

§ 500. Verbs with *lc*, *r* or *h* + consonant have *eo* in the present (§§ 83-6), *ea* in the first and third pers. sing. of the preterite, *u* in the preterite plural, and *o* in the past participle. On the verbs with the combination *weo* in the present, see § 94.

weorpan, <i>to throw</i>	wearp	wurpon	worpen
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And similarly *āseolcan*, *to languish*; *beorcan*, *to bark*; *beorgan*, *to protect*; *ceorfan*, *to cut, carve*; *deorfan*, *to labour*; *hweorfan*, *to turn, go*; *feohtan*, *to fight*; *meolcan*, late WS. also *melcan*, *to milk*; *sceorfan*, *to gnaw*; *sceorpan*, *to scrape*; *steorfan*, *to die*; *sweorfan*, *to rub*; *sweorcan*, *to become dark*. *weorþan*, *to become, wearþ*, *wurdon*, *worden* (§ 239).

§ 501. *fēolan* from **feolhan* (§ 84, Note 1), *to enter, penetrate*, *fealh* (§ 64), *fulgon* (§ 239) beside the more common form *fālon* made after the analogy of verbs of class IV, *folgen*; pret. pl. and pp. also *fūlon* from **fulhon*, *fōlen* from **folhen* with *h* from the pres. **feolhan*.

§ 502.

bregdan, <i>to brandish</i>	brægd	brugdon	brogden
stregdan, <i>to strew</i>	strægd	strugdon	strogden
berstan, <i>to burst</i>	bærst	burston	borsten
perscan, <i>to thresh</i>	þærsc	þurscon	þorscen
frignan, <i>to ask</i>	frægn	frugnon	frugnen
murnan, <i>to mourn</i>	mearn	murnon	
spurnan, <i>to spurn</i>	spearne	spurnon	spornen

In **bregdan** and **stregdan**, beside the forms with **g** there also occur forms with loss of **g** and lengthening of the preceding vowel, as **brēdan** (§ 80, Note 2), **bræd** (§ 54, Note 2), **brūdon**, **brōden** (§ 106, Note). **berstan** (OHG. **brestan**) and **perscan** (OHG. **dreskan**) have metathesis of **r** (§ 280), hence the absence of breaking in the present and pret. singular. The **i** in **frignan** is due to the influence of the **gn**; beside **frignan** there also occurs **frīnan** (§ 96, Note 1) to which a new pret. sing. **frān** was formed after the analogy of verbs of class I; the **n** belonged originally to the present only, and the **g** to the pret. plural and past participle; the **n** and **g** were extended to all forms of the verb, cp. Goth. **fraíhnan**, **frāh**, **frēhun** for ***frēgun**, **fraíhans** for ***frigans**; the Goth. shows that the OE. verb originally belonged to class V and that the principal parts would regularly have been ***freohnan** (***frēonan**, § 329, 2), ***freah**, ***frāgon** (§ 120), ***fregen**; beside the pret. pl. **frugnon** there also occur **frungon** with metathesis of **gn**, and **frūnon** with loss of **g**; and beside the pp. **frugnen** there also occur **frūnen** with loss of **g**, and **frogen**. **murnan** and **spurnan** (also **spornan**) are properly aorist presents (§ 472).

CLASS IV.

§ 503. The verbs of this class belong to the fourth ablaut-series (§ 226), which includes the strong verbs whose stems end in a single liquid or nasal. They have **e** in the present, **æ** in the first and third pers. sing. of the preterite, **æ** in the pret. plural, and **o** in the past participle, thus:

beran , to <i>bear</i>	bær	bæron	boren
Goth. baíran	bar	bērun	baúrans

And similarly **cwelan**, to *die*; **helan**, to *conceal*; **stelan**, to *steal*; **teran**, to *tear*; **þweran**, to *stir*. **scieran** (§ 91), to *shear*, **scear** (§ 72), **scēaron** (§ 124), **scoren**.

§ 504.

<i>cuman, to come</i>	<i>c(w)ōm</i>	<i>c(w)ōmon</i>	<i>cumen (cymen)</i>
<i>niman, to take</i>	<i>nōm</i>	<i>nōmon</i>	<i>numen</i>

From the regular forms of the second and third pers. sing. pres. indic. *cym(e)st*, *cym(e)þ*, the *y* was often extended to other forms of the pres., especially to the pres. subjunctive as *cyme* beside *cume*; *cuman* is an aorist present (§ 472) from older **kwoman* with regular loss of *w* before *u* (§§ 109, 266), after the analogy of which it was often dropped in the preterite; *c(w)ōm* for **cwam*, **cwom*, was a new formation from the plural where *ō* was regular (§ 121); *cumen* from older **kwomen*; on *cymen*, see § 442. *niman* from older **neman* (§ 81); *nōm* was a new formation from the plural which regularly had *ō* (§ 121); beside *nōm*, *nōmon* there also occur the new formations *nam*, *nāmon*; *numen* from older **nomen* (§ 109).

CLASS V.

§ 505. The verbs of this class belong to the fifth ablaut-series (§ 226), which includes the strong verbs whose stems end in a single consonant other than a liquid or a nasal. They have *e* in the present, *æ* in the first and third pers. sing. of the preterite, and *e* in the past participle, thus:

<i>metan, to measure</i>	<i>mæt</i>	<i>māton</i>	<i>meten</i>
Goth. <i>mitan</i>	<i>mat</i>	<i>mētun</i>	<i>mitans</i>

And similarly *brecan* (pp. *brocen* after the analogy of class IV), *to break*; *cnedan*, *to knead*; *drepan* (pp. also *dropen* after the analogy of class IV); *screpan*, *to scrape*; *sprecan*, late OE. *specan*, *to speak*; *swefan*, *to sleep*; *tredan*, *to tread*; *wefan*, *to weave*; *wegan* (pret. pl. *wāgon* beside *wāgon*, see § 120), *to carry*; *wrecan*, *to avenge*. *giefan* (§ 91), *to give*, *geaf* (§ 72), *gēafon* (§ 124), *giefen*; and similarly *forgietan*, *to forget*. *etan*, *to eat*, and *fretan* (Goth. *fra-itan*, pret. sing. *frēt*), *to devour*, had *æ* in the

pret. sing. already in prim. Germanic, cp. Goth. *ēt*, O.Icel. *OS. āt*, OHG. *āz* (§ 119). *cweþan*, to say, *cwæþ*, *cwādon*, *cweden*; *wesan*, to be, pret. pl. *wāron* (§ 239). *genesan*, to be saved, and *lesan*, to collect, gather, have extended the *s* of the present and pret. sing. to all forms of the verb.

§ 506. *sēon* (Goth. *saílvān*) from **seohan* (§ 87), to see, *seah* (§ 68), *sāwon* beside *sāgon* (§ 241), *sewen* (§ 241) beside *sawen* with a difficult to account for, and Anglian *gesegen* with *g* from the pret. plural; and similarly *gefēon*, to rejoice, *gefeah*, pret. pl. *gefāgon*; *plēon*, to risk, pret. sing. *pleah*.

§ 507. To this class also belong *biddan*, to pray; *licgan*, to lie down; *sittan*, to sit, which originally had *j* in the present (§ 254): *biddan* (Goth. *bidjan*), *bæd* (Goth. *baþ*), *bādon* (Goth. *bēdun*), *beden* (Goth. *bidans*). The pret. pl. of *licgan* is *lāgon* beside *lāgon* (§ 120). *þicgan*, to receive, is a weak verb in WS.; in poetry it has the strong forms *þeah* (*þāh*), *þāgon*, *þegen*. *fricgan*, to ask, inquire, with strong pp. *gefrigen*, *gefrugen* (cp. § 502).

CLASS VI.

§ 508. The verbs of this class belong to the sixth ablaut-series (§ 226), and have *a* in the present, *ō* in the pret. sing. and plural, and *æ* beside *a* in the past participle. There is a good deal of fluctuation between *æ* and *a* in the past participle, as *færen*, *græfen*, *sæcen*, *slægen* beside *faren*, *grafen*, *sacen*, *slagen*. The regular development of Germanic *a* when followed by a palatal vowel in the next syllable is *æ* (§ 54), so that forms with *a* like *faren*, &c., are new formations with *a* from the present, see § 54, Note 3.

<i>faran</i> , to go	<i>fōr</i>	<i>fōron</i>	<i>færen</i> , <i>faren</i>
Goth. <i>farān</i>	<i>fōr</i>	<i>fōrun</i>	<i>farans</i>

And similarly *alan*, to grow; *bacan*, to bake; *calan*, to be cold; *galan*, to sing; *grafan*, to dig; *hladan*, to lade,

load; *sacan*, to *strive, quarrel*; *wacan*, to *awake, be born*; *wadan*, to *go*; *wascan*, to *wash*. *gnagan* (pret. sing. *gnōg* beside *gnōh*, § 323), to *gnaw*; and similarly *dragan*, to *draw*. *scacan*, *sceacan* (§ 57, Note), to *shake*, *scōc*, *sceōc* (§ 128, Note), *scacen*, *sceacen*; and similarly *scafan*, *sceafan*, to *shave, scrape*. *standan* (Goth. *standan*), to *stand*, *stōd*, *stōdon*, *standen*, with *n* from the present. *spanan*, to *allure*, pret. *spōn* beside *spēon* which was formed after the analogy of verbs of class VII.

§ 509.

slēan, to *strike* *slōg*, *slōh* *slōgon* *slāgen*, *slagen*

slēan (Goth. *slahan*) from **sleahan* (§ 70); *slōg* with *g* from the plural, beside *slōh* (§ 323), *slōgon* (§ 239); beside *slāgen*, *slagen* there also occurs *slegen* with *i*-umlaut (§ 442); and similarly *flēan*, to *flay*; *lēan*, to *blame*; *þwēan*, to *wash*.

§ 510. To this class also belong *hebban* (Goth. *hafjan*), to *raise*; *hliehhan* (Goth. *hlahjan*), to *laugh*; *sceþþan* (Goth. *skapjan*), to *injure*, cp. § 526; *scieppan* (Goth. *ga-skapjan*), to *create*; *stæppan* beside *steppan* (§ 55, Note 3), to *step, go*; *swerian*, to *swear*, which originally had *j* in the present (§ 271).

<i>hebban</i>	<i>hōf</i>	<i>hōfon</i>	<i>hāfen</i> , <i>hafen</i>
<i>hliehhan</i>	<i>hlōg</i> , <i>hlōh</i>	<i>hlōgon</i>	
<i>sceþþan</i>	<i>scōd</i>	<i>scōdon</i>	
<i>scieppan</i>	<i>scōp</i>	<i>scōpon</i>	<i>sceapen</i>
<i>stæppan</i>	<i>stōp</i>	<i>stōpon</i>	<i>stāpen</i> , <i>stapen</i>
<i>swerian</i>	<i>swōr</i>	<i>swōron</i>	<i>sworen</i>

hebban has also weak pret. and pp. in late WS. (*hefde*, *hefod*); beside *hāfen* there also occurs *hefen* (§ 442). *hlōg* with *g* from the plural beside *hlōh* (§ 323). The regular WS. form of *sceþþan* would be *scieþþan* (§ 51). On *sceō* beside *scō*-, see § 128, Note. On *sceapen*, see

§ 57, Note. *sworen* with *o* from analogy of verbs of class IV as in OHG. *gisworan*.

CLASS VII.

§ 511. To this class belong those verbs which originally had reduplicated preterites like Goth. *haíhald*, *laíló̃t*, *faíflōk*, *haíháit*, *raírōþ*, *laílaík*, inf. *haldan*, *to hold*, *lētan*, *to let*, *flōkan*, *to complain*, *háitan*, *to call*, *rēdan*, *to advise*, *láikan*, *to leap*. Traces of the old reduplicated preterites have been preserved in Anglian and in poetry, viz. *hēht* (also WS.), *leolc*, *leort*, *ondreord*, *reord*, beside inf. *hātan*, *lācan*, *lātan*, *ondrādan*, *rādan*, see below. This class of verbs is divided into two sub-divisions according as the preterite had *ē* or *eo*. Much has been written about the stem-vowel in the preterite of these verbs, but little or nothing is really known of how it came about. It is usually assumed to be due to the old reduplicated syllable having undergone contraction with the stem-syllable, but this assumption leaves many phonological difficulties unexplained. The preterite sing. and pl. have the same stem-vowel.

SUB-DIVISION I.

§ 512. *hātan*, *to call* *hēt* *hāten*

And similarly *lācan*, *to play*; *scādan*, *sceādan* (§ 133, Note 2), *to separate*, pret. *scēd* beside *scēad*.

§ 513. *lātan*, *to let, allow* *lēt* *lāten*

And similarly *ondrādan* (WS. also weak pret. *ondrādde*), *to dread, fear*; *rādan* (pret. and pp. mostly weak in WS.: *rādde*, *gerādd*), *to advise*; *slāpan* (WS. also weak pret. *slāpte*). *blandan*, *to mix*, pret. *blēnd*, pp. *blanden*.

§ 514. *fōn* (§ 117), *to seize* *fēng* (§ 239) *fangen*

And similarly *hōn*, *to hang*.

Sub-division 2.

§ 515. **bannan**, to *summon* **bēon(n)** **bannen**

And similarly **gangan**, pret. also **gīeng**, to *go*; **spannan**, to *join, clasp*.

§ 516. **fealdan** (§ 64), to *fold* **fēold** **fealden**

And similarly **feallan**, to *fall*; **healdan**, to *hold*; **stealdan**, to *possess*; **wealcan**, to *roll*; **wealdan**, to *rule*; **weallan**, to *boil*; **weaxan** (originally belonged to class VI), to *grow*.

§ 517. **blāwan**, to *blow* **blēow** (§ 265) **blāwen**

And similarly **cnāwan**, to *know*; **crāwan**, to *crow*; **māwan**, to *mow*; **sāwan**, to *sow*; **swāpan**, to *sweep*; **þrāwan**, to *turn, twist*; **wāwan**, to *blow*.

§ 518. **bēatan**, to *beat* **bēot** **bēaten**

And similarly **āhnēapan**, to *pluck off*; **hēawan**, to *hew*; **hlēapan**, to *leap*.

§ 519. **blōtan**, to *sacrifice* **blēot** **blōten**

And similarly **blōwan**, to *bloom, blossom*; **hrōpan**, to *shout*; **hwōpan**, to *threaten*; **flōwan**, to *flow*; **grōwan**, to *grow*; **hlōwan**, to *low, bellow*; **rōwan** (pret. pl. **rēon** beside **rēowon**, § 226), to *row*; **spōwan**, to *succeed*; **wēpan** (Goth. **wōpjan**), to *weep*. The pret. of **flōcan**, to *clap, strike*; **swōgan**, to *sound*; **wrōtan**, to *root up*, do not occur.

B. WEAK VERBS.

§ 520. The weak verbs, which for the most part are derivative or denominative, are divided in OE. into three classes according as the infinitive ends in **-an** (Goth. **-jan**), pret. **-ede, -de, -te** (Goth. **-ida, -ta**); **-ian** (Goth. **-ōn**) from older **-ōjan** (§ 273), pret. **-ode** (Goth. **-ōda**); **-an** (Goth. **-an**),

pret. *-de* (Goth. *-áida*). The weak preterite is a special Germanic formation, and many points connected with its origin are still uncertain. Some scholars are inclined to regard it as a periphrastic formation which was originally confined to denominative verbs, and then at a later period became extended to primary verbs as well. The OE. endings *-de*, *-des(t)*, *-de*, pl. *-don* (older *-dun*), would thus represent an old aorist formed from the root *dhē*, *put*, *place* (Gr. *τίθημι*), which stands in ablaut relation to OE. *dōn*, *to do*. The old preterite (perfect) of this verb has been preserved in the preterite plural of Gothic weak verbs, as *háusi-dēdum* (*we heard*), *-dēdūþ*, *-dēdun*. But it is also probable that the dental in the OE. preterite stands in close relationship to the dental in the past participle, where the *-d* = prim. Germanic *-dās* = Gr. *-τός*. Prim. Germanic *-dōn*, *-dāes*, *-dæ(p)*, pl. third pers. *-dun(p)* from Indg. **dhnt* with vocalic *n*, regularly became *-de*, *-des(t)*, *-de*, *-don* older *-dun* in OE. Three stems are to be distinguished in the conjugation of a weak verb: the stem of the present, preterite, and past participle, which mostly agrees with that of the preterite.

NOTE.—Many points concerning the inflexion of weak verbs in the oldest periods of the Germanic languages have never been satisfactorily explained. For a summary and discussion of the various explanations which have been suggested by scholars, the student should consult: Brugmann's *Kurze vergleichende Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen*; Streitberg's *Urgermanische Grammatik*; and Kluge's *Vorgeschichte der altgermanischen Dialekte in Paul's Grundriss der germanischen Philologie*, vol. I.

CLASS I.

§ 521. In OE. the verbs of this class are divided into two sub-divisions: (a) verbs which originally had a short stem-syllable; (b) polysyllabic verbs and those which

originally had a long stem-syllable. Nearly all the verbs belonging to this class are causative and denominative. On the personal endings, see §§ 273, 476-83.

Sub-division (a).

§ 522. Formation of the present stem: The present stem of verbs ending in a single consonant, except *r*, became long (except in the second and third pers. sing. pres. indicative, and second pers. sing. imperative) by the West Germanic law of the doubling of consonants (§ 254). The *j* had already disappeared in these persons before the operation of the law, for which reason they had single consonants in OE. (§ 254, Note).

§ 523. Formation of the pret. and past participle: The *j*, which caused the doubling of the final consonants in the present stems, never existed in the preterite or past participle, so that these stems ended in single consonants. The pret. generally had the ending *-ede* from prim. Germanic *-idōn*, but verbs whose present stems ended in *dd*, *tt* (= West Germanic *dj*, *tj*) had *-de*, *-te* on analogy with the verbs which originally had long stems (§ 523). On many verbs whose present stems ended in *cc*, *ll* (= West Germanic *kj*, *lj*), see § 534.

The past participle generally ended in *-ed* from older *-id*, prim. Germanic *-idās*, as *genered*, *gefremed*. But in WS. and Ken. the verbs whose stems ended in *d*, *t* had vowel syncope and assimilation of consonants, as *geset(t)*, masc. acc. sing. *gesetne*, dat. *gesettum*, fem. gen. dat. sing. *gesetre*, beside Anglian *geseted*, *gesetedne*, *gesettum*, *gesetedre*; *gehredd* beside Anglian *gehreded*, *rescued*. See § 300.

§ 524. The full conjugation of *nerian* (Goth. *nasjan*), *to save*; *fremman* (Goth. **framjan*), *to perform*; *settan* (Goth. *satjan*), *to set*, will serve as models for this class.

Present.

Indicative.

Sing.	1. <i>nerie</i>	<i>fremme</i>	<i>sette</i>
	2. <i>neres(t)</i>	<i>fremes(t)</i>	<i>setst</i>
	3. <i>neresþ</i>	<i>fremeþ</i>	<i>set(t)</i>
Plur.	<i>neriaþ</i>	<i>fremmaþ</i>	<i>settaþ</i>

Subjunctive.

Sing.	<i>nerie</i>	<i>fremme</i>	<i>sette</i>
Plur.	<i>nerien</i>	<i>fremmen</i>	<i>setten</i>

Imperative.

Sing.	2. <i>nere</i>	<i>freme</i>	<i>sete</i>
Plur.	2. <i>neriaþ</i>	<i>fremmaþ</i>	<i>settaþ</i>

Infinitive.

<i>nerian</i>	<i>fremman</i>	<i>settan</i>
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Participle.

<i>neriende</i>	<i>fremmende</i>	<i>settende</i>
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Preterite.

Indicative.

Sing.	1. <i>nerede</i>	<i>fremede</i>	<i>sette</i>
	2. <i>neredes(t)</i>	<i>fremedes(t)</i>	<i>settes(t)</i>
	3. <i>nerede</i>	<i>fremede</i>	<i>sette</i>
Plur.	<i>neredon</i>	<i>fremedon</i>	<i>setton</i>

Subjunctive.

Sing.	<i>nerede</i>	<i>fremede</i>	<i>sette</i>
Plur.	<i>nereden</i>	<i>fremeden</i>	<i>setten</i>

Participle.

<i>genered</i>	<i>gefremed</i>	<i>geseted, geset(t)</i>
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§ 525. On forms like *nergan*, *nerigan*, *nerigean*, see
 § 271. Like *nerian* are conjugated *āmerian*, *to purify*;

andswerian, *to answer*; berian, *to make bare*; bescierian, *to deprive*; byrian, *to pertain to, belong to*; derian, *to injure*; erian, *to plough*; ferian, *to carry*; gewerian, *to clothe*; herian, *to praise*; onhyrian, *to emulate*; scierian, *to allot*; snyrian, *to hasten*; spyrian, *to pursue*; styrian, *to stir*; werian, *to defend*.

In late WS. many of the verbs of this type went over into class II owing to the ending of the infinitive being the same in both classes.

§ 526. Like fremman are conjugated āswebban, *to kill*; clynnan, *to sound*; cnyssan, *to knock*; dynnan, *to make a noise*; gremman, *to anger, provoke*; hlynnan, *to roar*; hrissan, *to shake*; sceppan (also sv. § 510), *to injure*; sweppan, *to swathe*; temman, *to tame*; trymman, *to strengthen*; pennan, *to stretch*; þicgan (in poetry also strong pret. þeah, þāh), *to receive*; wecgan, *to agitate*; wennan, *to accustom*; wreppan, *to support*.

In WS. and Ken. most of the verbs whose stems ended in l, m, n, s, þ were remodelled on analogy with verbs like nerian with single consonant, as clynian, fremian, helian, *to conceal*, sylian, *to sully*, sweþian, and then later often went over into class II. On the pret. and past participle of verbs ending in þ, see § 305.

§ 527. Like settan are conjugated ātreddan, *to search out*; cnyttan, *to bind, knit*; hreddan, *to rescue, save*; hwettan, *to whet, incite*; lettan, *to hinder*; spryttan, *to sprout*; and lecgan, *to lay*.

Sub-division (b).

§ 528. The preterite generally ended in -de from older -ide, the i of which caused umlaut in the stem-syllable and then disappeared (§ 221). The following points should be noted in regard to the consonants: (1) Germanic double consonants were simplified before -de, as fyllan (Goth. fulljan), *to fill*, pret. fylde (§ 259), pp. gefyllen; (2) þ + d

became *dd* in late WS., as *cȳþan*, *to make known*, pret. *cȳþde*, pp. *gecȳþed*, later *cȳdde* (§ 305), pp. *gecȳd(d)* with *dd* from the inflected forms; (3) *-de* became *-te* after voiceless consonants (§ 300), as *cyssan*, *to kiss*, pret. *cyste*, pp. *gecyssed*; *grētan*, *to greet*, pret. *grētte*, pp. *gegrēt(ed)*; (4) the *d* in *-de* disappeared after consonant + *d* or *t* (§ 229, Note), as *sendan*, *to send*, pret. *sende*, pp. *gesend(ed)*; *fæstan*, *to make fast*, pret. *fæste*, pp. *gefæst(ed)*. Verbs which would regularly have vocalic *i*, *n*, *r* in the pret. generally have *-ede*, especially in the combination long syllable + *i*, *n*, *r*, as *hyngran*, *to hunger*, *dīeglan*, *to hide*, pret. *hyngrede*, *dīeglede* (§ 221); but in the combination short syllable + *i*, *n*, *r* they generally had *-de* in the oldest period of the language and then later *-ede*, as *eglan*, *to trouble*, pret. *eglide* beside later *eglede*; the verbs of this type often went over into class II (cp. § 222).

§ 529. The full conjugation of *dēman* (Goth. *dōmjan*), *to judge*, *drencan* (Goth. *dragkjan*), *to submerge*, *hyngran* (Goth. *huggrjan*), *to hunger*, and *gierwan* from **gearwjan*, *to prepare*, will serve as models for this class.

Present.

Indicative.

Sing. 1.	dēme	drence	hyngre	gierwe
2.	dēm(e)st	drenc(e)st	hyncrest	gierest
3.	dēm(e)þ	drenc(e)þ	hyngreþ	giereþ
Plur.	dēmaþ	drencaþ	hyngraþ	gierwaþ

Subjunctive.

Sing.	dēme	drence	hyngre	gierwe
Plur.	dēmen	drencen	hyngren	gierwen

Imperative.

Sing. 2.	dēm	drenc	hyngre	giere
Plur. 2.	dēmaþ	drencaþ	hyngraþ	gierwaþ

Infinitive.

dēman drencan hyngran gierwan

Participle.

dēmende drencende hyngrende gierwende

Preterite.

Indicative.

Sing. 1.	dēmde	drencte	hyngrede	gierede
2.	dēmdes(t)	drenctes(t)	hyngresdes(t)	gieredes(t)
3.	dēmde	drencte	hyngrede	gierede
Plur.	dēmdon	drencton	hynghredon	gieredon

Subjunctive.

Sing.	dēmde	drencte	hyngrede	gierede
Plur.	dēmde	drencten	hynghreden	giereden

Participle.

gedēmed gedrenched gehynghred gegier(w)ed

§ 530. Like *dēman* are conjugated a large number of verbs, as *āelan*, to set on fire; *ærnan*, to gallop, cause to run; *āfliegan*, to put to flight; *āliefan*, to allow; *āwyrgan*, to strangle, kill; *bāedan*, to compel; *bærnan*, to burn up, cause to burn; *benāeman*, to deprive of; *biegan*, to bend; *brāedan*, to broaden; *byrgan*, to taste; *byrgan*, to bury; *cēian*, to cool; *cemban*, to comb; *ciegan* (§ 270), to call; *cwielman*, to kill; *dāelan*, to share; *diedan*, to kill; *drāfan*, to drive out; *drēfan*, to stir up; *drȳgan*, to dry; *ēapmēdan*, to humble; *fēdan*, to feed; *fēgan*, to join; *fēran*, to go, journey; *fliegan*, to put to flight; *fylgan*, to follow; *fȳsan*, to hasten; *gefrēdan*, to feel, perceive; *geliefan*, to believe; *geþiedan*, to join together; *gieman*, to heed; *giernan*, to desire, yearn for; *glengan*, to adorn; *hāelan*, to heal; *hāeman*, to marry; *hienan*, to humiliate, ill-use; *hieran*, to hear; *hlȳdan*, to make a noise; *hringan*, to ring, sound; *hȳdan*, to hide; *lāedan*, to lead; *lāefan*, to leave; *lēanan*, to

lend; *lāran*, to teach; *lengan*, to require; *liesan*, to set free; *mānan*, to moan, complain; *māran*, to proclaim; *mengan*, to mix; *nemnan* (pret. *nemde*, pp. *genem(n)ed*), to name; *nīdan*, to compel; *rāran*, to raise; *rȳman*, to make room; *sāgan*, to lay low; *sālan*, to bind with a rope; *scrȳdan*, to clothe; *sengan*, to singe; *sprēdan*, to spread; *sprengan*, to burst; *stieran*, to steer; *strienan*, to acquire; *swēgan*, to make a sound; *tālan*, to blame; *tengan*, to hasten; *tȳnan*, to enclose; *wēdan*, to rage; *wēnan*, to expect; *wiernan*, to refuse; *wrēgan*, to accuse. The contracted verbs *hēan* (pret. *hēade*, pp. *hēad*), to heighten, raise; and similarly *rȳn*, to roar; *tȳn*, to teach; *þēon*, to perform, do; *þȳn* (also in form *þȳwan*), to press. *cȳpan* (pret. *cȳþde*, later *cȳdde*), to make known; and similarly *āhȳpan*, to destroy, lay waste; *cwīpan*, to lament; *lāþan*, to hate, abuse; *nēþan*, to venture on; *oferswīpan*, to overcome; *sēþan*, to testify; *wrēþan*, to be angry, get angry. *fyllan* (pret. *fyldde*), to fill; and similarly *āfierran*, to remove; *cennan*, to bring forth; *cierran*, to turn; *clȳppan*, to embrace; *cyssan* (pret. *cyste*), to kiss; *fiellan*, to fell; *mierran*, to mar; *pyffan*, to puff; *spillan*, to destroy; *stillan*, to still; *wemman*, to defile. *ieldan* (pret. *ielde*), to delay, *sendan* (pret. *sende*), to send, *gyrdan* (pret. *gyrde*), to gird; and similarly *behȳldan*, to flay; *gewieldan*, to overpower; *gyldan*, to gild; *onhiieldan*, to incline; *scildan*, to protect; *spildan*, to destroy; *wieldan*, to control, subdue; *bendan*, to bind; *blendan*, to blind; *lendan*, to land, arrive; *ontendan*, to kindle; *pyndan*, to shut up, confine; *scendan*, to put to shame; *wendan*, to turn; *andwyrðan*, to answer; *āwierðan*, to destroy; *hierðan*, to harden; *onbyrdan*, to inspire, incite. *fāstan* (pret. *fāste*), to make fast; and similarly *ācrāftan*, to devise, plan; *āfyrhtan*, to frighten; *āgyltan*, to be guilty; *āwēstan*, to lay waste; *efstan*, to hasten; *ēhtan*, to pursue, persecute; *fylstan*, to help; *gedāftan*, to put in order; *gehlāestan*, to load; *gehȳrstan*,

to equip; *grimettan*, *to roar, rage* (for other examples of verbs in *-ettan*, see § 657); *hæftan*, *to hold captive*; *hierstan*, *to roast*; *hiertan*, *to hearten, encourage*; *hlystan*, *to listen*; *hyhtan*, *to hope*; *læstan*, *to perform*; *liehtan*, *to give light*; *lystan*, *to please*; *mæstan*, *to feed with mast*; *myntan*, *to intend, think*; *restan*, *to rest*; *rihtan*, *to set right*; *scyrtan*, *to shorten*; *tyhtan*, *to incite, allure*; *pyrstan*, *to thirst*.

§ 531. Like *drencan* are conjugated *ācwencan*, *to quench*; *ādhwæscan*, *to quench*; *āstiepan*, *to bereave*; *bætan*, *to bridle*; *beriepan*, *to despoil*; *bētan*, *to atone for, amend*; *cēpan*, *to keep*; *ciepan*, *to buy*; *cyspan*, *to bind, fetter*; *driēpan*, *to let drop, moisten*; *gewlencan*, *to make proud*; *geswencan*, *to injure*; *grētan*, *to greet*; *hātan*, *to heat*; *hwierfan*, *to convert*; *hwitan*, *to whiten*; *hyspan*, *to mock*; *iecan* (see § 534, Note 2), *to increase*; *liexan*, *to shine*; *mētan*, *to meet*; *nāetan*, *to afflict*; *oftyrfan*, *to stone*; *of pryscan*, *to beat down*; *rāsan*, *to rush*; *rētan*, *to cheer*; *scencan*, *to pour out*; *scierpan*, *to sharpen*; *screncan*, *to cause to tumble*; *sencan*, *to cause to sink*; *spāetan*, *to spit*; *swāetan*, *to sweat*; *swencan*, *to vex, afflict*; *tāsan*, *to pull, tear*; *tōstencan*, *to scatter*; *yppan*, *to open, manifest*; *wāetan*, *to wet*; *wierpan*, *to recover*; *wȳscan*, *to wish*.

§ 532. Like *hyngran* are conjugated *bīecnan*, *to make a sign*; *dieglan*, *to conceal*; *forglendran*, *to devour*; *frēfran*, *to comfort*; *symlan*, *to feast*; *timbran*, *to build*; *wrixlan*, *to change, exchange*. *efnan* (pret. *efnde*, later *efnede*, § 528), *to level, perform*; and similarly *bytlan*, *to build*; *eglan*, *to trouble, afflict*; *ræfnan*, *to perform*; *seglan*, *to sail*; *prysman*, *to suffocate*.

§ 533. *gierest*, *giereþ*, *gierede* from older **gierwis*, **gierwiþ*, **gierwide* with regular loss of *w* (§ 266). At a later period the verbs of this type mostly generalized the forms with or without *w*, and often went over into class II

The verbs with a long diphthong or vowel in the stem generally had *w* in all forms of the verb. Like *gierwan* are conjugated *hierwan*, *to despise, ill-treat*; *nierwan*, *to constrain*; *sierwan*, *to contrive, plot*; *smierwan*, *to anoint, smear*. *lāewan* (pret. *lāwde*), *to betray*; and similarly *forslāewan*, *to delay, be slow*; *getriewan*, *to trust*; *hlēowan*, *hliewan*, *to shelter, warm*; *iewan*, *to show, disclose*.

siowan, *sēowan* (Goth. *siujan*, OHG. *siuwen*) from older **siuwjan* (cp. § 138), *to sew*, pret. *siowede*, *seowede* from older **siwide*; from the pret. was formed a new inf. *si(o)wian* after the analogy of class II, with preterite *siowode*, *seowode*. *spīowan*, *spēswan* from **spiuwjan* older **spiwjan* (§ 254), *to spit*, pret. *spiowede*, *speowede* from **spiwide*, beside *spīode*, *spēode*, formed direct from the present; from the pret. *spiowede* was formed a new inf. *spi(o)wian* after the analogy of class II. *streowan* (Goth. *straujan*), *to strew*, pret. *streowede* beside *strewede* (Goth. *strawida*), § 77, from which a new inf. *streowian*, *strewian* was formed after the analogy of class II, pret. *streowode*.

§ 534. A certain number of verbs belonging to class I formed their preterite and past participle already in prim. Germanic without the medial vowel *-i-*, as *bycgan* (Goth. *bugjan*), *to buy*, pret. *bohte* (Goth. *baúhta*), pp. *geboht* (Goth. *baúhts*); *pencan* (Goth. *þagkjan*), *to think*, pret. *þōhte* (Goth. *þāhta*, § 40), pp. *geþōht* (Goth. *þāhts*), whence the absence of *i*-umlaut in the pret. and past participle of verbs of this type. In addition to a few verbs which had long stems originally, they embrace verbs whose present stems end in *cc*, *ll* from West Germanic *kj* and *lj* (§ 254). On the interchange between *c* and *h*, see § 240. At a later period the preterite and pp. of verbs with *-ecc-* in the present were re-formed with *e* from the present, as *cweccan*, *cwehte*, *gecweht*; and similarly *rācan*, *tācan*, prim. Germanic **raikjan*, **taikjan*, gener-

ally had pret. **rāhte**, **tāhte** with **ā** from the present, beside the regular forms **rāhte**, **tāhte**. The verbs with **ll** in the present often formed the pret. and pp. on analogy with the verbs of sub-division (*a*) especially in late OE., as **dwelede**, **-ode**, beside older **dwealde**. Beside **sellan** there also occurs **siellan** (later **syllan**) from ***sealljan** with **ea** borrowed from the pret. and pp. in prehistoric OE. **bringan**, *to bring*, is the strong form (cp. § 498), the regular weak form **brengan** is rare in OE.

bycgan , <i>to buy</i>	bohte	geboht
cweccan , <i>to shake</i>	cweahte	gecweaht
dreccan , <i>to afflict</i>	dreahte	gedreaht
leccan , <i>to moisten</i>	leahte	geleaht
reccan , <i>to narrate</i>	reahte	gereiht
streccan , <i>to stretch</i>	streahte	gestreaht
þeccan , <i>to cover</i>	þeahte	geþeaht
weccan , <i>to awake</i>	weahte	geweaht
cwellan , <i>to kill</i>	cwealde	gecweald
dwellan , <i>to hinder</i>	dwealde	gedweald
sellan , <i>to sell</i>	sealde	geseald
stellan , <i>to place</i>	stealde	gesteald
tellan , <i>to count</i>	tealde	geteald
rācan , <i>to reach</i>	rāhte , rāhte	gerāht
tācan , <i>to teach</i>	tāhte , tāhte	getāht , getāht
sēcan , <i>to seek</i>	sōhte	gesōht
bringan , <i>to bring</i>	brōhte	gebrōht
þencan , <i>to think</i>	þōhte	geþōht
þyncan , <i>to seem</i>	þūhte	geþūht
wyrcan , <i>to work</i>	worhte	geworht

NOTE.—1. The presents **reccan** for ***rēcan** (pret. **rōhte**), *to care for*, *reck*; and **læccan** for ***lācan** (pret. **lāhte**, pp. **gelāht**), *to seize*, are difficult to account for.

2. Especially in late OE. verbs with medial **c**, **cc** often formed their pret. and pp. in **-hte**, **-ht** after the analogy of the above type of verbs, but with the retention of **i**-umlaut, as **hepācan**, *to*

deceive, *bepāhte*, *bepāht*, beside older *bepæcte*, *bepæct*; and similarly *gewācan*, *to weaken*; *īcan*, *to increase*; *nēalācan*, *to approach* (for further examples of verbs with *-lācan*, see § 658); *ōleccan*, *to flatter*; *sȳcan*, *to suckle*; *þryccan*, *to press*, *crush*; *wleccan*, *to warm*.

CLASS II.

§ 535. This class of verbs is denominative and originally belonged partly to the athematic and partly to the thematic conjugation (§ 472). The first pers. singular of the former ended in *-āmi* and of the latter in *-ājō*. The *ā* became *ō* in the prim. Germanic period (§ 23). A large number of the verbs which originally belonged to class III went over into this class in prehistoric OE. On the verbs of class I which went over into this class, see §§ 525-6, 533.

The full conjugation of *sealfian*, *to anoint*, will serve as a model for the verbs of this class.

Present.

	Indic.	Subj.	Imper.
Sing. 1.	<i>sealfie</i>	<i>sealfie</i>	
2.	<i>sealfas(t)</i>	„	<i>sealfa</i>
3.	<i>sealfap</i>	„	
Plur.	<i>sealfiap</i>	<i>sealfien</i>	<i>sealfiap</i>

Infinitive.

sealfian

Participle.

*sealfiende**Preterite.*

Sing. 1.	<i>sealfode</i>	<i>sealfode</i>
2.	<i>sealfodes(t)</i>	„
3.	<i>sealfode</i>	„
Plur.	<i>sealfodon</i>	<i>sealfoden</i>

Participle.

gesealfod

The corresponding prim. Germanic forms of the pres. indicative were: *salbōjō, *salbōsi (Goth. *salbōs*), *salbōpi (Goth. *salbōp*), pl. *salbōjanpi. In OE. -ōj- regularly became -i- (§ 273) which not being original did not cause i-umlaut in the stem-syllable. The -i- was often written -ig-, also -ige- before guttural vowels, as *sealfige*, *sealfigan*, *sealfigean*, beside *sealfie*, *sealfian*, see § 273. On the ending -e in the first pers. sing. of the present, see § 476. The ending -a in the imperative second pers. sing. was from *sealfas(t)*; a form corresponding to Goth. *salbō* would have become in OE. **sealf* from older **sealbu* (§ 215). Inf. *sealfian* is from prim. Germanic **salbō-janan*.

The corresponding prim. Germanic forms of the pret. indicative were **salbōđōn* (Goth. *salbōda*), **salbōđæs* (Goth. *salbōdēs*), **salbōđæ(p)* (Goth. *salbōda*), pl. **salbō-đun(p)*. The medial -ō- was regularly shortened to -u- in prehistoric OE. (§ 218) and then later became -o-, -a-, the former of which is usual in WS. and the latter in Anglian and Ken. On -e- beside -o-, -a-, see § 222. And similarly in the past participle WS. -od, Anglian and Ken. -ad, prim. Germanic -ōđaz.

§ 536. Like *sealfian* are conjugated a large number of verbs, as *ācealdian*, to become cold; *ārian*, to honour; *āscian*, to ask; *āswefecian*, to eradicate; *bedecian*, to beg; *behōfian*, to have need of; *bodian*, to announce; *cēapian*, to buy; *ceorian*, to complain; *costian*, to try, prove; *cun- nian*, to try, test; *dysigian*, to be foolish; *dwolian*, to err; *eahtian*, to esteem, consider; *eardian*, to dwell, inhabit; *earnian*, to earn; *endian*, to end; *fæg(e)nian*, to rejoice; *fæstnian*, to fasten; *fandian*, to try, search out; *folgian*, to follow; *fullian*, to fulfil; *fundian*, to strive after; *gearcian*, to prepare; *gearwian* (§ 533), to prepare; *gedafenian*, to beseem; *gemidlian*, to bridle, restrain; *gemyndgian*, to remember; *geōmrian*, to be sad, lament; *gestrangian*, to

make strong; grāpian, *to grope, feel*; hafēnian, *to hold*; hālgian, *to hallow*; hangian, *to hang*; hatian, *to hate*; hef(i)-gian, *to make heavy*; hergian (cp. § 525), *to harry*; hīgian, *to hasten*; hnappian, *to doze*; hopian, *to hope*; hwearfian, *to wander*; ieldcian, *to delay*; lācnian, *to heal*; langian, *to long for*; laþian, *to invite*; lēanian, *to reward*; lēasian, *to tell lies*; lician, *to please*; lōcian, *to look*; lofian, *to praise*; losian, *to lose*; lufian, *to love*; macian, *to make*; manian, *to exhort*; meldian, *to announce*; met(e)gian, *to measure*; offrian, *to offer*; op(e)nian, *to open*; rēafian, *to plunder*; samnian, *to collect, gather*; sārgian, *to cause pain*; sārian, *to grieve, be sad*; scamian, *to be ashamed*; scēawian, *to look*; scyld(i)gian, *to sin*; sīþian, *to travel*; sorgian, *to sorrow, grieve*; sparian, *to spare*; syngian, *to sin*; tioh-hian, teohhian, *to think, consider*; þaccian, *to stroke*; þancian, *to thank*; þolian, *to suffer*; þrōwian, *to suffer*; wacian, *to be awake*; wandrian, *to wander*; war(e)nian, *to beware, take heed*; warian, *to beware*; wealwian, *to roll, wallow*; welegian, *to enrich*; weorþian, *to honour*; wērgian, *to grow weary*; wilnian, *to desire*; wincian, *to wink*; wīsian, *to guide*; wītgian, *to prophesy*; wītnian, *to punish, torment*; wuldrian, *to glorify*; wundian, *to wound*; wundrian, *to wonder*; wunian, *to dwell*. bletsian, *to bless*; blīpsian, blissian, *to rejoice*; clānsian, *to cleanse*; efesian, *to shear*; eg(e)sian, *to frighten, terrify*; gītsian, *to covet*; grimsian, *to rage*; hrēowsian, *to repent of, rue*; iersian, *to be angry*; mǣrsian, *to make famous*; miltsian, *to have mercy*; ricsian, rīxian, *to rule, govern*; unrōtsian, *to be sad*; untrēowsian, *to defraud, deceive*, see § 659.

On the second and third pers. sing. pres. indic., imperative sing., and pret. indicative of verbs like *bifian*, *to tremble*; *clifian*, *to adhere, cleave*; *clipian*, *to call*; *ginian*, *to yawn, gape*; *hlinian*, *to lean, recline*; *stician*, *to prick, stab*; *tilian*, *to strive after, labour*, see §§ 101-2.

§ 537. *twēogan*, Anglian *twīogan*, from **twiχōjan*

(§§ 98, 139), *to doubt*; pres. indic. *twēoge*, *twēost*, *twēop*; pres. part. *twēonde* (poetical) beside *twēogende*; pret. indic. *twēode*, Anglian *twīode*, from **twiXōdōn*; pp. *twēod*. And similarly in WS. the following verbs which originally belonged to class III: *fēog(e)an*, *to hate*; *frēog(e)an*, *to love, make free*; *smēag(e)an*, *to ponder, consider*; *prēag(e)an*, *to reprove, rebuke*.

CLASS III.

§ 538. Most of the verbs belonging to this class were originally primary verbs like Lat. *habē-re*, OHG. *habē-n*, *to have*, and probably embraced two types of verbs: (1) those which had *-ēj-*, and (2) those which simply had *-j-* in the present. In OE. as in the other Germanic languages the two types became mixed, which gave rise to many new formations. The *-ēj-* like *-ōj-* (§ 273) in class II regularly became *-i-* in OE., which is the reason why nearly all the verbs of class III went over into class II in the prehistoric period of the language, cp. *hatian*, Goth. *hatan*, OHG. *hazzēn*, prim. Germanic **χatējanan*, *to hate*. The preterite and past participle were formed without a medial vowel. The chief verbs are: *habban*, *to have*; *libban*, *to live*; *secgan*, *to say*; and *hycgan*, *to think*.

Present.

Indicative.

Sing.	1. <i>hæbbe</i>	<i>libbe</i>	<i>secge</i>	<i>hycge</i>
	2. { <i>hafas(t)</i> <i>hæfst</i>	<i>liofas(t)</i>	{ <i>sagas(t)</i> <i>sægst</i>	{ <i>hogas(t)</i> <i>hyg(e)st</i>
	3. { <i>hafap</i> <i>hæfp</i>	<i>liofap</i>	{ <i>sagap</i> <i>sægþ</i>	{ <i>hogap</i> <i>hyg(e)þ</i>
Plur.	<i>habbaþ</i>	<i>libbaþ</i>	<i>secg(e)aþ</i>	<i>hycg(e)aþ</i>

Subjunctive.

Sing.	<i>hæbbe</i>	<i>libbe</i>	<i>secge</i>	<i>hycge</i>
Plur.	<i>hæbben</i>	<i>libben</i>	<i>secgen</i>	<i>hycgen</i>

Imperative.

Sing.	2.	hafa	liofo	saga, sæge	hoga, hyge
Plur.	2.	habbaþ	libbaþ	secg(e)aþ	hycg(e)aþ

Infinitive.

habban	libban	secg(e)an	hycg(e)an
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Participle.

hæbbende	libbende	secgende	hycgende
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Preterite.

Indicative.

Sing.	1.	hæfde	lifde	sægde	hogde
	2.	hæfdes(t)	lifdes(t)	sægdes(t)	hogdes(t)
	3.	hæfde	lifde	sægde	hogde
Plur.		hæfdon	lifdon	sægdon	hogdon

Subjunctive.

Sing.		hæfde	lifde	sægde	hogde
Plur.		hæfden	lifden	sægden	hogden

Participle.

gehæfd	gelifd	gesægd	gehogod
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The endings *-as(t)*, *-aþ* of the second and third pers. sing. pres. indicative, and *-a* of the imperative sing., were from verbs of class II; the endings corresponding to Goth. *-áis*, *-áiþ*, *-ái* would have become *-es(t)*, *-eþ*, *-e* in OE. The regular form of *hæbbe* would be **hebbe* (OS. *hebbiu*) from West Germanic **χabbjō*, but the *a* of the second and third pers. sing. was extended to the first and then *a* became *æ* by i-umlaut, cp. § 55, Note 2. On the *æ* beside *a* in the second and third pers. singular, see §§ 54, 57. *hafas(t)*, *hafap* are rare in pure WS., the usual forms are *hæfst*, *hæfþ*; and similarly with *sægst*, *sægþ*; *hyg(e)st*, *hyg(e)þ*. *habbaþ*, *habban* (West Germanic **χabbjanþi*, **χabbja-*

nan, OS. hebbiad, hebbian) had the *a* in the stem-syllable from hafas(t), hafas. On forms like næbbe from ne hæbbe, see § 325, Note.

libbe (OS. libbiu), libban (OS. libbian), from West Germanic *libbjō, *libbjanan. Beside libban there was also lifian, common in Anglian and Ken., which was inflected like sealfian (§ 535) in the present. On the *io* in liofas(t) and liofas, see § 102.

secge (OS. seggiu), secg(e)an (OS. seggian), from West Germanic *saggjō, *saggjanan. In the present the *e* as in secge, secg(e)an was often extended to forms which regularly had *æ*, and vice versa. In late WS. the *e* was extended to all forms of the present. On forms like pret. sǣde beside sægde, see § 54, Note 2.

On the *y* in hycg(e)an beside the *o* in hogde, see § 43. In the pret. this verb was also inflected like class II, hogode, &c.; cp. also the past participle gehogod for *gehogd.

NOTE.—Traces of the old inflexion of verbs which originally belonged to class III are seen in such forms as bȳa (Nth.), *to dwell*, fylg(e)an, *to follow*, onscynian (Anglian), *to shun*, wæccende, *being awake*, beside būan, folgian, onscunian, waciende; hettend, *enemy*, beside hatian, *to hate*; pret. plægde, trūde, beside plagode, *he played*, trūwian, *to trust*.

C. MINOR GROUPS.

A. PRETERITE-PRESENTS.

§ 539. These verbs were originally unreduplicated perfects, which acquired a present meaning like Gr. οἶδα, Latin nōvī, *I know*. In prim. Germanic a new weak preterite, an infinitive, a pres. participle, and in some verbs a strong past participle, were formed. They are inflected in the present like the preterite of strong verbs, except that the second pers. singular has the same stem-

vowel as the first and third persons, and has preserved the old ending **-t** (§ 481). The following verbs, many of which are defective, belong to this class:—

§ 540.

I. Ablaut-Series.

wāt, *I know, he knows*, 2. sing. **wāst** (§ 240), pl. **witon** beside **wiotun**, **wietun** (§ 101), **wuton** (§ 103); subj. **wite**; imperative sing. **wite**, pl. **witaþ** with **-aþ** from the pres. indic. 3. pers. pl. of other verbs (§ 476); inf. **witan** beside **wiotan**, **wietan** (§ 102); pres. part. **witende**; pret. **wisse**, **wiste** (§ 240); pp. **gewiten**; participial adj. **gewiss**, *certain*. On forms like **nāt** beside **ne wāt**, see § 267.

§ 541.

II. Ablaut-Series.

dēag (Anglian **dēg**) beside later **dēah** (§ 323), *I avail, he avails*, pl. **dugon**; subj. **dyge** beside the more common form **duge** (§ 482); inf. **dugan**, pres. part. **dugende**.

§ 542.

III. Ablaut-Series.

an(n), **on(n)**, *I grant*, pl. **unnon**; subj. **unne**; imperative **unne**; inf. **unnan**; pret. **ūþe** (§ 113); pp. **geunnen**.

can(n), **con(n)**, *I know, can*, 2. sing. **canst**, **const** with **-st** from forms like **dearst**, pl. **cunnon**; subj. **cunne**; inf. **cunnan**; pret. **cūþe** (Goth. **kunþa**); pp. **cunnen**; participial adj. **cūþ** (Goth. **kunþs**), *known*.

þearf, *I need*, 2. sing. **þearft**, pl. **þurfon**; subj. **þyrfe** beside the more common form **þurfe** (§ 482); inf. **þurfan**; pres. part. **þearfende**, *needy*; pret. **þorfte**.

dear(r) (Goth. **ga-dars**), *I dare*, with **rr** from the plural, 2. sing. **dearst**, pl. **durron** (Goth. **ga-ðaúrsum**); subj. **dyrr** beside the more common form **durre** (§ 482); pret. **dorste** (Goth. **ga-ðaúrsta**).

§ 543.

IV. Ablaut-Series.

sceal, *I shall, owe*, 2. sing. scealt, pl. sculon beside sceolon (§ 116); subj. scyle, later scule, sceole; inf. sculan, sceolan; pret. sceolde (§ 110).

man, mon, *I think*, 2. sing. manst, monst with -st from forms like dearst, pl. munon; subj. myne beside the more common form mune (§ 482); imperative -mun beside -myne, -mune; inf. munan; pres. part. munende; pret. munde (Goth. munda); pp. gemunen.

§ 544.

V. Ablaut-Series.

mæg, *I, he can*, 2. sing. meaht later miht, pl. magon; subj. mæge, pl. mægen; inf. magan; pres. part. magende; pret. meahte, mehte (§ 68, Note 2), later mihte.

be-neah (Goth. bi-nah), ge-neah (Goth. ga-nah), *it suffices*, pl. -nugon; subj. -nuge; pret. nohte.

§ 545.

VI. Ablaut-Series.

mōt, *I, he may*, 2. sing. mōst (§ 240), pl. mōton; subj. mōte; pret. mōste (§ 240).

§ 546. The following verb probably belonged originally to the seventh class of strong verbs (§ 512): āg later āh (§ 323), *I have*, 2. sing. āhst with -st from forms like dearst, pl. āgon; subj. āge; imperative āge; inf. āgan; pret. āhte; pp. āgen, ægen (§ 442), *own*.

B. VERBS IN -mi.

§ 547. The first pers. sing. pres. indicative of the Indo-Germanic verb ended either in -ō or -mi (cp. Greek verbs in -ω and -μι, like φέρω, *I bear*, τίθημι, *I place*). See § 472. To the verbs in -ō belong all the regular Germanic verbs; of the verbs in -mi only scanty remains have been preserved; they are distinguished by the fact that the first

pers. sing. pres. indicative ended in **-m**. Here belong the following OE. verbs:—

§ 548. 1. The Substantive Verb.

The full conjugation of this verb is made up out of several distinct roots, viz. **es-**; **er-** (perfect stem-form **or-**); **bheu-** (weak grade form **bhw-**); and **wes-**. From **es-** and **or-** were formed a pres. indicative and subjunctive; from **bhw-** a pres. indicative (also with future meaning), pres. subjunctive, imperative, infinitive, and present participle; and from **wes-** an infinitive, present participle, imperative, and a pret. indicative and subjunctive.

Present.

Indicative.

	WS.	Anglian.	WS.	Anglian.
Sing. 1.	eom	eam, am	bīo, bēo	bīom
2.	eart	earþ, arþ	bist	bis(t)
3.	is	is	biþ	biþ
Plur.	{ sint sindon, -un	{ sint, sind sindon, -un earon, aron, -un	bīoþ, bēoþ	{ bīoþ bi(o)þon, -un

Subjunctive.

Sing.	sīe, sī	sīe	bīo, bēo
Plur.	sīen, sīn	sīen	bīon, bēon

Imperative.

Sing.	bīo, bēo	wes
Plur.	bīoþ, bēoþ	wesaþ

Infinitive.

bīon, bēon	wesan
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Participle.

bīonde, bēonde	wesende
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Preterite.

Indic. wæs, wære, wæs, pl. wæron (§ 505)

Subj. wære, pl. wæren

Pres. indicative: *eom* was the unaccented form of **ēom* with *ēo* from *bēo* (cp. the opposite process in Anglian *bīom*); the regular form would have been **im* = Goth. *im*; *eart*, *earþ*, *arþ*, and pl. *earon*, *aron* are old perfects from the root *er-*, perfect stem-form *or-*, prim. Germanic *ar-*, of which nothing further is known; on the *þ* in *earþ*, *arþ*, see § 481; *is* with loss of *-t* from older **ist* = Goth. *ist*, Lat. *est*; *sind* from prim. Germanic **sindi* = Indg. **senti* (§ 472); *sint* was the unaccented form of *sind*; *sindon*, *-un*, with the ending of the pret. pl. added on (§ 481); beside *sint*, *sindon* there also occur in WS. *sient*, *siendon*. *bīo* later *bēo* (cp. § 104), from **biju* (cp. § 138), Indg. **bhwijō*, Lat. *fiō*; Anglian *bīom* with *m* from *eom*; *bist* from older *bis*, Indg. **bhwīsi*, Lat. *fis*; *biþ* from older **biþi*, Indg. **bhwīti*, Lat. *fit*; Anglian *bioþon* with *u*-umlaut (§ 101) was a new formation from *biþ*; *bioþ* from **bijanþi*.

Pres. subjunctive: *sīe*, *sīen* later *sī* (OS. OHG. *sī*), *sīn* (OS. OHG. *sīn*), beside *sīo*, *sēo* with *īo*, *ēo* from *bīo*, *bēo*.

§ 549. 2. The Verb *dōn*, *to do*.

Present.

	Indic.	Subj.	Imper.
Sing. 1. <i>dō</i>	<i>dō</i>		
2. <i>dēst</i>		„	<i>dō</i>
3. <i>dēþ</i>		„	
Plur. <i>dōþ</i>	<i>dōn</i>		<i>dōþ</i>

Infinitive *dōn*

Participle *dōnde*

Preterite.

	Indic.	Subj.
Sing. 1.	dyde	dyde
2.	dydes(t)	„
3.	dyde	„
Plur.	dydon	dyden

Participle *gedōn*

Anglian has the older form *dōm* for the first pers. singular; *dēst*, Nth. *dōes(t)*; *dēþ*, Nth. *dōēþ*, *dōes*, from **dō-is*, **dō-iþ* (§ 47); *dōþ* from **dō-anþi*; Anglian often has longer forms in the present, as imper. *dōa*, *dōaþ*, inf. *dōa(n)*. The *y* from older *u* in the pret. indic. and subj. is of obscure origin; in poetry there occurs the real old pret. pl. indic. *dādon*, corresponding to OS. *dādun*, OHG. *tātun*, Goth. *-dēdun* which has only been preserved in the pret. of weak verbs (§ 520). Pret. subj. *dyde*, *dyden* from **dudī-*, **dudīn* (§ 482); beside *dyde* there also occurs in poetry *dāde*, corresponding to OS. *dādi*, OHG. *tāti*, and Goth. *-dēdi*. Beside the pp. *-dōn* there also occurs in poetry *-dēn*, Nth. *-dōen* (§ 442).

§ 550. 3. The Verb *gān*, to go.*Present.*

	Indic.	Subj.	Imper.
Sing. 1.	<i>gā</i>	<i>gā</i>	
2.	<i>gāest</i>	„	<i>gā</i>
3.	<i>gāþ</i>	„	
Plur.	<i>gāþ</i>	<i>gān</i>	<i>gāþ</i>

Infinitive *gān*. Past participle *gegān*.

gāest, *gāþ*, from older **gā-is*, **gā-iþ* (§ 47). The pret. indic. and subjunctive were supplied by *ēode* (§ 275) which was inflected like the pret. of *nerian* (§ 524).

§ 551. 4. The Verb **willan**, *will*.

The present tense of this verb was originally an optative (subjunctive) form of a verb in **-mi**, which already in prim. Germanic came to be used indicatively. To this was formed in OE. a new infinitive, present participle, and weak preterite.

Present.

	Indic.	Subj.	Infinitive
Sing. 1.	wille	wille, wile	willan
2.	wilt	"	
3.	wile, wille	"	Participle
			willende
Plur.	willap	willen	

The pret. indic. and subjunctive **wolde** was inflected like the pret. of **nerian** (§ 524). **wilt** was a new formation with **-t** from the preterite-present verbs, cp. OHG. **wili**, Goth. **wileis**, Lat. **velis**; **wile**, indic. and subj. = Goth. OHG. **wili**, Lat. **velit**; **willap** was a new formation with the ordinary ending of the pres. indic. (§ 476), the old form was preserved in Goth. **wilein-a** = Lat. **velint**. The various forms of this verb often underwent contraction with the negative particle **ne**, as **nille**, **nylle**, **nelle** (especially in late WS.), pret. **noelde**.

CHAPTER XV

ADVERBS, PREPOSITIONS, AND CON-
JUNCTIONS

I. ADVERBS.

§ 552. We shall here chiefly deal with the formation of adverbs from adjectives, and with the inflected forms of nouns and adjectives used adverbially.

§ 553. The **-e**, generally used to form adverbs from adjectives, is originally a locative ending and is identical

with the *-e* (= prim. Germanic *-ai*, § 217) in the instrumental case of adjectives (§ 424). Examples are: *dēop*: *dēope*, *deeply*; *nearu*, *-o* (cp. § 435): *nearwe*, *narrowly*, *closely*; *yfel*: *yf(e)le*, *wickedly*; and similarly *bit(e)re*, *bitterly*; *cāfe*, *quickly*, *boldly*; *cūpe*, *clearly*; *earge*, *badly*; *earme*, *wretchedly*; *gearwe*, *completely*; *georne*, *eagerly*; *grame*, *angrily*; *hāte*, *hotly*; *hēane*, *ignominiously*; *hearde*, *fiercely*; *hlūde*, *loudly*; *holde*, *graciously*, *loyally*; *late*, *slowly*; *micle*, *much*; *rihte*, *rightly*; *scearpe*, *sharply*; *singale*, *always*, *continually*; *smicere*, *elegantly*; *snūde*, *quickly*; *sōpe*, *truly*; *strange*, *violently*; *sweetole*, *clearly*, *evidently*; *swīpe*, *exceedingly*, *very*; *syndrige*, *separately*; *pearle*, *severely*; *ungemete*, *excessively*; *wide*, *widely*; *wrāpe*, *angrily*.

When the adjective ends in *-e* (§ 434) the adverb and adjective are alike in form, as *blīpe*, *joyful*: *blīpe*, *joyfully*; and similarly *brēme*, *famously*, *gloriously*; *clāne*, *fully*, *entirely*; *ēce*, *eternally*; *fācne*, *deceitfully*; *frēcne*, *dangerously*, *fiercely*; *gedēfe*, *fitly*; *gehende*, *at hand*, *near*; *milde*, *mercifully*; *myrge*, *merrily*; *swegle*, *clearly*, *brightly*; *þicce*, *thickly*. A few adverbs, the corresponding adjectives of which did not originally belong to the *ja-* or *i-*declension, do not have umlaut in the stem-syllable, as *ange*, *anxiously*, *smōpe*, *smoothly*, *sōfte*, *gently*, *softly*, *swōte*, *sweetly*, beside the adjectives *enge*, *smēpe*, *sēfte*, *swēte*.

In adverbs like *cræftlice*, *skilfully*; *dollice*, *foolishly*; *frēondlice*, *kindly*; *gelice*, *as*, *similarly*; *loflice*, *gloriously*; *hetelice*, *violently*, which were regularly formed from adjectives ending in *-lic* (see § 634), the *-lice* came to be regarded as an adverbial ending, and was then used in forming adverbs from adjectives which did not end in *-lic*, as *eornostlice*, *earnestly*; *holdlice*, *graciously*; *hwætlice*, *quickly*; *lætlice*, *slowly*; *spēdlice*, *prosperously*; *stearclice*, *vigorously*, &c.

§ 554. The adverbial ending in the other Germanic languages, as Goth. *-ō*, OS. OHG. *-o*, goes back to the Indg. ablative ending *-ōd* which regularly became *-a* in OE. This *-a* was preserved in a few adverbs ending in *-inga* (= Goth. *-iggō*), *-unga* (= OS. *ungo*), *-linga*, *-lunga* (cp. §§ 607, 615), as *dearunga*, *-inga*, *secretly*; *eallunga*, *-inga*, *entirely*; and similarly *ēawunga*, *openly, publicly*; *ednīwunga*, *anew*; *fārunga*, *quickly, suddenly*; *gegnunga*, *straight forwards*; *hōlunga*, *in vain, without cause*; *sim(b)lunga*, *always, continually*; *unwēnunga* (Goth. *unwēniggō*), *unexpectedly*; *wēnunga*, *perhaps, by chance*. *ierringa*, *angrily*; *nēadinga*, *nīedinga*, *by force, against one's will*; *orsceattinga*, *gratuitously*; *stierninga*, *sternly*. *grundlunga*, *-linga*, *to the ground, completely*; and similarly *midlunga*, *moderately*; *nēadlunga*, *by force, against one's will*.

§ 555. The comparative and superlative degrees of the adverbs in *-e* generally ended in *-or* (prim. Germanic *-ōz*, § 443), and *-ost* (prim. Germanic *-ōst*, § 444), as *earme*, *wretchedly*, *earmor*, *earmost*; *hearde*, *fiercely*, *heardor*, *heardost*; *holdlice*, *graciously*, *holdlicor*, *holdlicost*; *strange*, *violently*, *strangor*, *strangost*; but *seldan*, *seldom*, *seld(n)or*, *seldost*.

§ 556. A certain number of adverbs had originally *-iz* (Goth. *-is*, *-s*) in the comparative and *-ist* (Goth. *-ist*, *-st*), rarely *-ōst*, in the superlative (cp. §§ 443-4), as *ēape*, *easily*, *īep* from **aupiz*, *ēapost*; *feorr*, *far*, *fierr* from **ferriz*, *fierrest*; *lange*, *long*, *leng* from **langiz*, *longest*; *sōfte*, *softly*, *sēft* from **samftiz*; *tulge*, *strongly, firmly*, *tylg* from **tulgiz*, *tylgest*; *ār* from **airiz* (Goth. *áiris*), *earlier, formerly*; *sīp* from **sīpiz* (Goth. *þana-seiþs*, *further, more*), *later*. The following form their comparative and superlative from a different word than the positive:—*lýt*, *lýtle*, *little*, *læs* from **laisiz*, *læst*; *micle*, *much*, *mā* (Goth. *máis*, Anglian *mā*), *mæst*; *wel*, *well*, comp. *bet*

from *batiz, with loss of -e after the analogy of comparatives with long stems, beside sēl from *sōliz, superl. betst, sēlest; yf(e)le, *badly, wretchedly*, wiers, wyrs, from *wirsiz (Goth. waírs, OHG. wirs), wierrest, wyrrest, wyrst.

§ 557. A large number of OE. adverbs consist of the various cases of nouns and adjectives used adverbially, as acc. sing. ealne weg, ealneg, *always*; āwiht, āwuht, *at all, by any means*; bæcling, *back, behind*. eal mæst, *almost*; eall tela, *quite well*; ēast norþ, *north-east*; ēap, *easily*; fela, feola, *very much*; full, perfectly, *very*; fyrrn, *formerly*; geador, *together, jointly*; gefyrrn, *once, long ago, formerly*; genōg, *enough, sufficiently*; hēah, *high*; lȳthwōn, *little*; mæst, *mostly*; samēn, *together*; sīþ, *late*; sundor, *asunder, apart*; tela, teola, *well, befittingly*; ungyfryrn, *not long ago*; untela, *amiss*; west, *westward*; west lang, *extending westwards*. Compounds of -weard, as forweard, *continually, always*; hindanweard, *hindwards, at the end*; norþweard, *northward*; sūþweard, *southward*; ūpweard, *upwards*; tōweard, *towards*, see § 637.

Gen. sing., as ānstreces, *continuously*; dægēs, *daily, by day*; gewēaldēs, *willingly, intentionally*; hū gēares, *at what time of year*; hū gerādes, *how*; idægēs, *on the same day*; innanbordes, *at home*; isīpes, *at that time*; orcēapes, *without payment*; orpances, *heedlessly*; samtinges, *immediately, forthwith*; selfwilles, *voluntarily*; sundorlīepes, *separately*; sunganges, *moving with the sun*; þances, *gladly, voluntarily*; ungemetes, *excessively, immeasurably*; ungewēaldēs, *involuntarily*; unþances, *unwillingly*; willes, *willingly*; the -es was sometimes extended to fem. nouns, as endebyrdes, *in an orderly manner*; nīedes, *of necessity, needs*; nihtes, *at night, by night*. æghwæs, *altogether, in every way*; dæglanges, *during a day*; elles, *otherwise, else*; ealles, *entirely, wholly*; endemes, *equally, in like manner*; gehwæperes, *on all sides*; nealles, *not at*

all, by no means; nihtlanges, all night long; simbles, ever, always; singales, always, ever; sōpes, truly, verily; sumes, somewhat, to some extent; þæs, after; þwēores, athwart, transversely; ungewisses, unconsciously; hāmweardes, homewards; norþweardes, northwards; niþweardes, downwards; tōweardes, towards. A preposition was sometimes prefixed to the genitive, as *in-stæpes, instantly, at once; tō-æfenes, till evening; tō-emnes, alongside, beside; tō-gēanes, towards, against; tō-geflites, in emulation; tō-gifes, freely, gratis; tō-middes, amidst, among.*

Gen. pl.; as *ænge þinga, anyhow, in any way; gēara, of yore, formerly; hū meta, how, in what way; hū nyta, wherefore; nānge, nānge þinga, not at all; ungēara, not long ago, recently.*

Dat. and instrumental sing., as *bearhtme, instantly; eine, strongly, vigorously; fācne, exceedingly; hlūdswēge, loudly; niēde, of need, necessarily; nēode, zealously, diligently; niwan stefne, anew, again; recene, instantly, at once; torne, grievously; wihte, at all. ealle, entirely; hēo-dæg, to-day; hwēne, somewhat. dæg-hwām, daily; furþum, even, indeed; gegnum, forwards, straight on; lēofwendum, ardently; wrāpum, fiercely.*

Dat. pl., as *dæg-tidum, by day; fir(e)num, excessively, very; gēardagum, formerly, in days of old; gepyldum, patiently; hwil-tidum, at times, sometimes; hwilum, sometimes; of(e)stum, speedily, hastily; searwum, skilfully; snyttrum, cunningly, wisely; spēdum, speedily; stundum, from time to time; tidum, at times, occasionally; pingum, powerfully, violently, purposely; prymnum, powerfully; ungemetum, excessively; unsnyttrum, foolishly; unsynnum, guiltlessly; unwearnum, irresistibly; unwillum, unwillingly; wundrum, wonderfully; wynnum, joyfully, pleasantly; compounds with -mælum, as byrþenmælum, by loads; dālmælum, piecemeal; dropmælum, drop by*

drop; *flitmælum*, *contentiously*; *flocmælum*, *in troops*; *fōtmælum*, *step by step*; *hēapmælum*, *in troops*; *hidmælum*, *by hides*; *limmælum*, *limb by limb*; *nammælum*, *name by name*; *snædmælum*, *bit by bit*; *stundmælum*, *gradually*; *styccemælum*, *piecemeal*; *sundormælum*, *singly*; *þrāgmælum*, *from time to time*; *þrēatmælum*, *in crowds*; *wormmælum*, *in troops*.

By nouns, &c. in conjunction with prepositions, as *ætforan*, *beforehand*; *ætgædere*, *together*; *æthindan*, *behind*; *æt-hwōn*, *almost*; *æt-niehstan*, *at last*; *æt-rihte*, *nearly, almost*; *ætsamne*, *together*; *be ungewyrhtum*, *undeservedly*; *for hwon*, *wherefore*; *in-stæpe*, *forthwith*; *in-stede*, *at once*; *ofdūne*, *down*; *onbæc*, *backwards*; *on-bæcling*, *behind*; *onbūtan*, *about*; *onefn*, *close by*; *onforan*, *before, afore*; *on scipwisan*, *like a ship*; *onsundrum*, *singly, separately*; *onweg*, *away*; *tō-dæg(e)*, *to-day*; *tō-ēacen*, *besides*; *tō hwon*, *wherefore*; *tō-morgen*, *to-morrow*; *tōsamne*, *together*; *tō-sōpan*, *in truth, in sooth*; *tō wissum*, *with certainty*; *underbæc*, *backwards*; *underneopan*, *underneath*; *wiþæftan*, *behind*; *wiþforan*, *before*; *wiþ-innan*, *within*; *wiþneopan*, *beneath*; *wiþūtan*, *outside of, without*.

§ 558. The following are the chief adverbs of place:—

<i>Rest.</i>	<i>Motion towards.</i>	<i>Motion from.</i>
<i>feorr(an)</i> , <i>far, afar</i>	<i>feorr</i>	<i>feorran</i>
<i>foran</i> , <i>fore, before</i>	<i>forþ</i>	<i>foran</i>
<i>hēr</i> , <i>here</i>	<i>hider</i>	<i>hionan</i>
<i>hindan</i> , <i>behind</i>	<i>hinder</i>	<i>hindan</i>
<i>hwær</i> , <i>where</i>	<i>hwider</i>	<i>hwanon</i>
<i>inne</i> , <i>innan</i> , <i>within</i>	<i>in(n)</i>	<i>innan</i>
<i>nēah</i> , <i>near</i>	<i>nēar</i>	<i>nēan</i>
<i>niopan</i> , <i>beneath</i>	<i>niper</i>	<i>niopan</i>
<i>þær</i> , <i>there</i>	<i>þider</i>	<i>þanan, þonan</i>
<i>uppe</i> , <i>up, above</i>	<i>up(p)</i>	<i>uppan</i>
<i>ūte</i> , <i>ūtan</i> , <i>outside</i>	<i>ūt</i>	<i>ūtan</i>

sūþ, southwards, sūþan, from the south; and similarly ēast, ēastan; norþ, norþan; west, westan; æftan, from behind; ufan, from above; ūtane, from without; wīdan, from far. æghwær, æghwider, gehwær, everywhere, in all directions; æghwanon, from all parts; āhwær, āwer, ōwer, anywhere; āhwanon, from anywhere; nāhwær, nāwer, nōwer, nowhere; welhwær, welgehwær, gewelhwær, nearly everywhere; hider-geond, thither; hidres þidres, hither and thither.

§ 559.

2. PREPOSITIONS.

(1) With the accusative: geond, throughout, during; geondan, beyond; underneoþan, underneath, below; wīþgeondan, beyond; ymb, around, about, at; ymbūtan, around, about; oþ (more rarely dat.), to, up to, as far as, until; þurh (more rarely dat. or gen.), through, during.

(2) With the genitive: andlang, andlanges, alongside.

(3) With the dative: æfter, behind, after, along, during, through, according to, in consequence of; ær, before; ætforan, before, in the presence of; bī (be), also with instr., by, along, in; bæftan, behind; beheonan, on this side of; beneoþan, beneath, below; binnan, within, in, into; ēac, in addition to, besides; fram (from), also with instr., from, by; gehende, near; mid, also with instr., together with, among; nēah (also comp. nēar, superl. nīehst), near; of, from, away from, out of; ongemang, onmang, among; oninnan, in, within, into, among; onufan, upon; samod, together with, at (of time); til, to; tō-emnes, alongside, on a level with; tōforan, before, in front of; tōmidde, in the midst of; wīþæftan, behind; wīþforan, before; wīþūtan, outside, without, except. The following also sometimes govern the acc.: æt, at, by, in, on, upon; beforan, before, in the presence of; būtan, outside, without, free from; fore, before, in the sight of; tō (also occasionally gen. and instr.), to, into, at, by; wīþinnan, within.

(4) With the accusative and dative: *ābūtan*, *onbūtan*, *around*, *about (of time)*; *begeondan*, *beyond*; *behindan*, *behind*; *betwēonan*, *betwēonum*, *between*, *among*; *betweox*, *betweoh*, *bet(w)uh*, *betwih*, *betwix*, *between*, *among*; *bufan*, *above*, *away from*; *for* (also instr.), *before*, *in the sight of*, *during*, *for*, *on account of*, *instead of*; *gemang*, *among*, *into the midst of*; *in*, *in*, *into*, *on*, *among*, *during*; *ofer*, *over*, *above*, *beyond*, *contrary to*; *on* (also instr.), *on*, *in*, *into*, *on to*, *to*, *among*; *ongēan*, *ongeagn*, *ongegn*, *ongēn*, *opposite*, *in front of*, *against*; *onuppan*, *on*, *upon*; *tōgēanes*, *tōgegnes*, *tōgēnes*, *towards*, *against*; *under*, *under*, *beneath*, *among*; *uppan*, *on*, *above*.

(5) With the genitive and dative: *tōweard*, *tōweardes*, *towards*.

(6) With the accusative, genitive, and dative: *innan*, *within*, *in*, *into*; *wiþ*, *against*, *towards*, *to*, *opposite*, *near*.

§ 560.

3. CONJUNCTIONS.

(1) Co-ordinate: *ac*, *but*; *and*, *and*; *ægper . . . and*, *ægper . . . ge*, *both . . . and*; *ēac*, *also*; *ēac swelc* (swylc), *swelc ēac*, *as also*; *for þām* (þām), *for þon*, *for þȳ*, *þonne*, *therefore*; *ge*, *and*; *ge . . . ge*, *both . . . and*; *hwæp(e)re*, *þeah*, *swa þeah*, *swā þeah hwæp(e)re*, *however*; *ne . . . ne*, *ne . . . ne ēac*, *nāhwæper ne . . . ne*, *neither . . . nor*; *oþþe*, *or*; *oþþe . . . oþþe*, *either . . . or*; *samod . . . and*, *both . . . and*.

(2) Subordinate: *æfter þām* (þām) *þe*, *after*; *ær þām þe*, *before*; *būtan*, *unless*, *unless that*; *for þām* (þām) *þe*, *for þon þe*, *for þȳ þe*, *because*; *gelic and*, *as if*; *gif*, *if*, *whether*; *hwæper*, *whether*; *hwæper þe . . . þe*, *whether . . . or*; *mid þȳ þe*, *mid þām þe*, *when*, *although*; *nemne*, *nefne*, *nymþe*, *unless*, *except*; *nū þe*, *now that*; *oþ*, *oþ þæt*, *oþ þe*, *until*, *until that*; *swā . . . swā*, *so . . . as*; *swā swā . . . ealswā*, *just . . . as*; *swā sōna swā*, *as soon as*; *swā þæt*, *tō þon þæt*, *so that*; *tō þon þe*, *in order that*; *þæs þe*,

sipþan þe, *after, since*; þæt, þætte, *that, in order that*; þā, þā þe, *when*; þā hwīle þe, *whilst, so long as*; þēah, *although*; þēah þe . . . swā þēah, hwæp(e)re, *although . . . yet*; þenden, *while*; þonne, *when*; þȳ, *because*; þȳ þe, *so that*.

CHAPTER XVI

WORD-FORMATION

§ 561. By far the greater part of the word-forming elements, used in the parent language, were no longer felt as such in the oldest period of the English language. In this chapter we shall chiefly confine ourselves to those word-forming elements which were felt as such in OE., such as prefixes and suffixes.

NOUNS.

§ 562. Nouns may be divided into simple, derivative, and compound. Examples of simple nouns are: āc, *oak*; bān, *bone*; bōc, *book*; burg, *city*; cæg, *key*; cild, *child*; dæl, *dale*; dēor, *deer*; ende, *end*; feld, *field*; folc, *folk*; fōt, *foot*; gold, *gold*; hām, *home*; hand, *hand*; hūs, *house*; land, *land*; lim, *limb*; līc, *body*; lof, *praise*; mann, *man*; molde, *mould*; mūs, *mouse*; nama, *name*; nett, *net*; oxa, *ox*; pytt, *pit*; rūm, *room*; sǣ, *sea*; sciold, *shield*; spere, *spear*; tīma, *time*; trēo, *tree*; þeof, *thief*; þing, *thing*; weg, *way*; wēn, *hope*; weorc, *work*; word, *word*; wȳrm, *worm*; ȳþ, *wave*. Many simple nouns are related to the various classes of strong verbs (§§ 490-519), as bite, *cutting*, bite; lād, *way, course*; lāf, *remnant*; lida, *sailor*; rād, *riding*; ridda, *rider*; slide, *slip*; snæd, *morsel, slice*; snide, *incision*; wita, *wise man*.

boga, *bow*; bryce, *use*; cyre, *choice*; flēoge, *fly*; flota, *sailor*; loc, *lock*; lyre, *loss*; notu, *use*; scēat, *region*.

bend, *band* ; bryne, *burning* ; drenc, *drink* ; feoht, *battle, fight* ; gield, *payment* ; ryne, *running, course* ; stenc, *odour* ; steng, *pole* ; wyrd, *fate*.

bār, *bier* ; bryce, *breaking* ; byre, *son* ; cuma, *guest* ; cwalu, *killing* ; cyme, *advent* ; stalū, *theft*.

spræc, *speech* ; wæg, *wave*.

faru, *journey* ; fōr, *journey* ; slege, *blow*.

gang, *going* ; heald, *protection* ; hliep, *jump* ; ræd, *counsel*. See § 225.

§ 563. Derivative nouns are formed in a great variety of ways :—

1. From adjectives, as *bieldo*, *boldness* ; *brædo*, *breadth* ; *cieldo*, *cold* ; *fyllo*, *fullness* ; *hælo*, *health* ; *hæto*, *heat* ; *hyldo*, *favour, grace* ; *ieldu*, -o, *old age* ; *lengo*, *length* ; *menigo*, *crowd* ; *snytru*, *wisdom* ; *strengo*, *strength*. See §§ 383, 614.

2. By means of various suffixes which were no longer felt as such in OE., as *bydel*, *messenger* ; *fugol*, *bird* ; *gafol*, *tribute* ; *hagol*, *hail* ; *nædl*, *needle* ; *nægl*, *nail* ; *segl*, *sail* ; *setl*, *seat* ; *staþol*, *foundation* ; *tungol*, *star*. *æþm*, *breath* ; *botm*, *bottom* ; *māþm*, *treasure* ; *wæstm*, *growth*. *dryhten*, *lord* ; *heofon*, *heaven* ; *morgen*, *morning* ; *þegen*, *thane* ; *wāpen*, *weapon*. *brōþor*, *brother* ; *fæder*, *father* ; *finger*, *finger* ; *fōdor*, *food* ; *hamor*, *hammer* ; *sweostor*, *sister* ; *þunor*, *thunder* ; *winter*, *winter*.

3. From verbs by means of a dental suffix, as *blæd*, *blowing* ; *cyst*, *virtue, excellence* ; *dæd*, *deed* ; *fierd*, *army* ; *flyht*, *flight* ; *gebyrd*, *birth* ; *genyht*, *sufficiency* ; *gesceaft*, *creation* ; *geþeaht*, *plan* ; *gift*, *price of a wife* ; *glêd*, *live coal* ; *hæft*, *captivity* ; *hyht*, *hope* ; *lāst*, *track* ; *meaht*, *power* ; *mæþ*, *mowing* ; *sæd*, *seed* ; *slieht*, *slaughter* ; *spêd*, *success* ; *weft*, *weft*.

4. From verbs with inseparable particles, as *bebod*, *command* ; *beclysing*, *cell* ; *bedelfing*, *digging round* ; *begang*, *practice* ; *behāt*, *promise* ; *belāf*, *remainder* ; *belimp*, *occur*.

rence; begiemen, *care, attention*. forbod, *prohibition*; forhæfednes, *temperance*; forlor, *destruction*; forwyrd, *fate, destruction*. gebann, *decree, proclamation*; gebed, *prayer*; geblōt, *sacrifice*; gebrec, *clamour, noise*; gefeoht, *fight, battle*. ofcyrf, *cutting off*; ofslegennes, *destruction*; ofspræc, *utterance*.

5. By means of various prefixes. Some of the forms given as prefixes below are in reality independent words forming the first elements of compounds. They have been included among the real prefixes for purely practical purposes. It should be noted that the examples given below include both nouns and adjectives:—

PREFIXES.

§ 564. ā-, Goth. *áiw, ever*, as *ābrēmende, ever celebrating*; *ālibbende, everlasting*; *āwunigende, continual*.

§ 565. æ-, privative prefix denoting *without*, like the ā in OHG. *āmaht, without power*, as *æfelle, without skin*; *ægilde, without compensation*; *æmen(ne), depopulated*; *æmōd, out of heart, dismayed*; *æwēne, hopeless*.

§ 566. æf-, stressed form of of-, *off*, as *æfest, envy*; *æfpanc(a), grudge*; *æfweard, absent*.

§ 567. æfter-, *after*, as *æftergenga, successor*; *æftergield, after-payment*; *æfterfolgere, follower*; *æfterweard, following*; *æfterlēan, recompense*; *æfterieldo, old age*; *æfterlic, second*.

§ 568. an-, stressed form of the preposition *on, on*, as *anfilte, anvil*; *anginn, beginning*; *ansien, countenance*; *anweald, authority*. *anbrucol, rugged*; *anforht, alarmed*; *ansund, entire, sound*.

§ 569. and- (Goth. *and-*, OHG. *ant-*; Gr. *ἀντί, against*, Lat. *ante, before*), the stressed form of on- (§§ 59, Note, 654), as *andcwis(s), answer*; *andfenga, taker up, defender*; *andgiet, intelligence*; *andsaca, adversary*; *andswaru, answer*; *andweald, power*; *andwlita, countenance*; *andwyrd,*

answer. andfenge, *acceptable*; andgietol, *intelligent*; andlang, *continuous*; andweard, *present*; andwrāþ, *hostile*.

§ 570. bī- (OHG. bī), the stressed form of the preposition and adverb bī, *by*, of which the unstressed form is be- (§ 647), as bīcwide, *proverb*; bīfylce, *neighbouring people*; bigeng, *practice*; bigyrdel, *girdle, purse*; bīleofa, *sustenance*; bīspell, *example*; bīwist, *sustenance*; bīword, *proverb*.

§ 571. ed- (Goth. id-, OHG. ita-, it-), *back, again, re-*, as edcierr, *return*; edgield, *repayment*; edgift, *restitution*; edgrōwung, *regrowing*; edlēan, *reward*; edroc, *rumination*; edwit (Goth. idweit), *reproach*. edgeong, *growing young again*; edniwe, *renewed*.

§ 572. fore- (Goth. faúra, OHG. fora), the stressed form of the preposition and adverb fore, *before, fore-*, as forebēacen, *foretoken*; foreduru, *vestibule*; foregisl, *preliminary hostage*; forespreca, *advocate*; foreþanc, *forethought*. forehālig, *very holy*; foremære, *illustrious*.

§ 573. fram- (Goth. OHG. fram), the stressed form of the preposition and adverb fram, *from*, as framcyme, *progeny*; framlād, *retreat*; framsīþ, *departure*. framweard, *turned from*.

§ 574. ge- (Goth. ga-, OHG. ga-, gi-), originally a preposition meaning *together*, which already in prim. Germanic was no longer used as an independent word. It was especially used in forming collective nouns, but at a later period it often had only an intensitive meaning or no special meaning at all, as gebedda, *consort*; gebrōþor, *brethren*; gefēra, *companion*; gefylce, *army*; gegaderung, *gathering*; gehāda, *brother minister*; gemæcca, *mate*; gemōt, *meeting*; gesceaft, *creation*; gesīþ, *comrade*; gewider, *bad weather*. gebyrd, *birth, descent*; geweorc, *work*; gewita, *witness*; gewuna, *custom*. ge-æpele, *congenial*; gecynde, *innate, natural*; gedēfe, *befitting*; gelic, *similar*; gemyndig, *mindful*; gemæne, *common*; gesund, *healthy, sound*.

§ 575. *in-*, the stressed form of the preposition *in*, *in*, as *inādī*, *internal disease*; *inbūend*, *inhabitant*; *incniht*, *house-servant*; *incofa*, *inner chamber*; *infær*, *entrance*; *infaru*, *invasion*; *inhere*, *home army*; *insegl*, *seal, signet*. *inpicce*, *very thick, coarse*.

§ 576. *mid-* (Goth. *mip*, OS. *mid*, OHG. *mit*), the stressed form of the preposition *mid*, *with*, as *midspreca*, *advocate*; *midwist*, *presence, society*; *midwunung*, *living in company*; *midwyrhta*, *co-operator*.

§ 577. *mis-* (Goth. *missa*-, OHG. *missa*-, *missi*-), originally a participial adjective meaning *lost*, the same word as OHG. *missi*, *different*, as *misfadung*, *misconduct*; *mislār*, *bad teaching*; *misræd*, *misguidance*. *misboren*, *mis-shapen at birth*; *mishworfen*, *perverted*.

§ 578. *ofer-* (Goth. *ufar*, OHG. *ubar*, Gr. *ὑπέρ*, Skr. *upári*), the stressed form of the preposition *ofer*, *over*, as *oferæt*, *gluttony*; *oferbrū*, *eyebrow*; *oferdrenc*, *drunkenness*; *oferhygd*, *pride*; *ofermægen*, *superior force*; *ofer-slop*, *surplice*; *oferspræc*, *loquacity*; *oferþearf*, *extreme need*; *oferweorc*, *tomb*. *oferhlūd*, *overloud*; *ofermāte*, *excessive*; *ofermicel*, *over-much*; *ofermōdig*, *overbearing*.

§ 579. *on-*, in late formations with the preposition *on*, *on*, of which the real stressed form is *an*, see above. Examples are: *onbring*, *instigation*; *onbryce*, *inroad*; *onflæscnes*, *incarnation*; *onstigend*, *rider*; *onsting*, *authority*. *on-æpele*, *natural to*.

§ 580. *or-*, originally a preposition meaning *out*, preserved as an independent word in Goth. *us*, OHG. *ur*, cp. also NHG. *urteil* beside *erteilen*. Examples are: *ordāl*, *ordeal*; *orsorg*, *without anxiety*; *orþanc*, *skill, intelligence*; *orweorþ*, *ignominy*. *orcēas*, *free from complaint*; *orcnāwe*, *easily recognized*; *oreald*, *very old*; *orgiete*, *manifest*; *orgilde*, *unpaid for*; *orhleahre*, *blameless*; *ormāte*, *excessive*; *ormōd*, *despairing*; *orsāwle*, *lifeless*; *ortýdre*, *barren*; *orwēne*, *despairing*.

§ 581. *sam-*, related to the adverb Goth. *samana*, OHG. *saman*, OE. *samen*, *together*, Gr. preposition *σμε*, *together with*, as *samhiwan*, *members of a family*; *samwist*, *living together*; *samwrædnes*, *union, combination*; *samheort*, *unanimous*; *sammæle*, *agreed*; *samwinnende*, *contending together*.

§ 582. *sam-*, a prim. OE. shortening of **sāmi-*, older **sēmi-* = OHG. *sāmi-*, Lat. *sēmi-*, Gr. *ἡμι-*, *half*, the unshortened form of which would have been *sōmi-* (§ 121), as *sambærned*, *half-burnt*; *samcucu*, *half-dead*; *samhāl*, *in bad health*; *samgrēne*, *half-green*; *samlæred*, *half-taught*; *samsoden*, *half-cooked*; *samwis*, *dull, foolish*.

§ 583. *sin-* (Goth. OHG. *sin-*), *ever, perpetual*, as *sindrēam*, *everlasting joy*; *sinhere*, *immense army*; *sinhiwan*, *married couple*; *sinniht*, *eternal night*; *sinscipe*, *marriage, wedlock*; *sinsorg*, *continual sorrow*. *sinceald*, *ever cold*; *sinfulle*, *singrēne*, *houseleek*; *singrim*, *ever fierce*.

§ 584. *tō-*, the preposition *tō*, *to*, as *tōcyme*, *approach, arrival*; *tōhlystend*, *listener*; *tōhyht*, *hope*; *tō-īecnes*, *increase*; *tōnama*, *surname*; *tōspræc*, *conversation*; *tōtyhting*, *instigation*. *tōcumende*, *foreign, strange*; *tōheald*, *inclined, leaning*; *tō-iernende*, *approaching*; *tō-weard*, *facing, approaching*.

§ 585. *twi-* (OHG. *zwi-*, Lat. *bi-*, Gr. *δι-* from **dfi-*), *two*, as *twibill*, *two-edged axe*; *twigilde*, *double payment*; *twiweg*, *place where two roads meet*; *twibête*, *needing double compensation*; *twifeald*, *twofold*; *twifēre*, *accessible by two ways*; *twifēte*, *two-footed*; *twifingre*, *two fingers thick*; *twihēafode*, *two-headed*; *twi-hwēole*, *two-wheeled*; *twi-nihte*, *two days old*; *twiræde*, *irresolute*; *twispræce*, *double-tongued, false in speech*; *twiwintre*, *of two years*.

§ 586. *pri-* (OHG. *dri-*, Lat. *tri-*, Gr. *τρι-*), *three*, as *bridæglic*, *lasting three days*; *bridæled*, *tripartite*; *pri-feald*, *threefold*; *pri-fēte*, *having three feet*; *pri-fēre*, *three-*

storied; *prilēafe, trefoil*; *prinihte, three days old*; *þrirēþre, having three banks of oars*; *þrisciēte, triangular*.

§ 587. *þurh*-, the preposition *þurh, through*, as *þurhbeorht, very bright*; *þurhbitter, very bitter*; *þurhfēre, penetrable*; *þurhhālig, very holy*; *þurhscinendlic, splendid*; *þurhscyldig, very guilty*; *þurhspēdig, very wealthy*; *þurhwacol, sleepless*.

§ 588. *un*-. (Goth. OHG. *un*-, Lat. *en*-, Gr. *ἀ-*), a negative particle, *un*-, sometimes used intensively with the meaning *bad, evil, &c.*, as *unār, dishonour*; *unbealo, innocence*; *uncyst, vice*; *unfriþ, war*; *unhælo, sickness*. *uncræft, evil practice*; *undæd, crime*; *ungeþanc, evil thought*; *ungield, excessive tax*; *unlagu, evil law, injustice*; *unlār, false doctrine*; *unswefn, bad dream*; *unwritere, careless scribe*. *unæþele, plebeian*; *unāgiefen, unpaid*; *unandgietfull, unintelligent*; *unbeald, timid*; *unclæne, unclean*; *undēadlic, immortal*; *undēop, shallow*; *undierne, manifest*; *unfæger, ugly*; *ungeorne, reluctantly*; *unlēof, hated*; *unmære, inglorious*; *unriht, wrong*; *unslāw, active*; *unsōþ, untrue*; *unswēte, sour*; *unsynnig, innocent*; *ungewiss, uncertain*.

§ 589. *under*-, same word as the preposition *under*, *under*, as *underburg, suburb*; *undercýning, viceroy*; *underdiacon, sub-deacon*; *underling, underling*.

§ 590. *ūp*-, the preposition *ūp, up*, as *ūpcýme, rising, origin*; *ūpende, upper end*; *ūpfliering, upper floor*; *ūpgang, rising, sunrise*; *ūpheofon, sky*; *ūplyft, upper air*; *ūpstige, ascent*; *ūpstigend, rider*; *ūpweg, way to heaven*. *ūpcund, celestial*; *ūphēah, uplifted*; *ūplendisc, rural, rustic*; *ūpriht, upright, erect*.

§ 591. *ūt*-, the preposition *ūt, out*, as *ūtewealm, utter destruction*; *ūtdræf, expulsion*; *ūtfær, exit*; *ūtgang, exit*; *ūtgefeohht, foreign war*; *ūtgemære, extreme boundary*; *ūthere, foreign army*; *ūtlagu, outlaw*. *ūtlendisc, strange, foreign*; *ūtlic, external, foreign*.

§ 592. *wan-*, the same word as the adjective Goth. *wans*, OE. OHG. *wan*, *wanting, lacking, deficient*, as *wanhælp*, *weakness*; *wanhafa*, *poor person*; *wanhoga*, *thoughtless person*; *wanhygd*, *carelessness*; *wanspēd*, *poverty*. *wansælig*, *unhappy*; *wanscrȳdd*, *poorly clad*; *wanspēdig*, *poor*.

§ 593. *wipēr-*, the preposition Goth. *wipra*, OHG. *widar*, OE. *wiper*, *against*, as *wipercwide*, *contradiction*; *wiperlēan*, *requital*; *wipersaca*, *adversary*; *wipersæc*, *opposition*; *wipertrod*, *retreat*. *wiperræde*, *adverse*.

§ 594. *ymb-*, the preposition *ymb* (OHG. **umb*, Gr. *ἀμφί*), *around*, and related to the adverb *ymbe*, OHG. *umbi*, both from an older *umb + bi*, literally *around by*. Examples are *ymbfær*, *circuit*; *ymbgang*, *circumference*; *ymbhoga*, *consideration*.

SUFFIXES.

§ 595. *-ap*, *-op* (Goth. *-ōþu-*, OHG. *-ōd*, Lat. *-ātu-*, Gr. *-ητύ-*), used in forming masc. abstract nouns from the second class of weak verbs, as *drohtap*, *way of life*; *drūgoþ*, *dryness, drought*; *fiscoþ*, *fishing*; *fugeloþ*, *fowl-ing*; *huntoþ*, *hunting*; *langoþ*, *longing, desire*; *sweoloþ*, *swoloþ*, *heat, burning*. Often extended to *-noþ* with *n* from the verbal forms, as *drohtnian*, *to pass life*; *hæftnian*, *to take captive*; whence *fiscnoþ*, *fugelnoþ*; *sædnōþ*, *sowing*; &c.

§ 596. *-bora*, also used as an independent noun, *one who bears or sustains the charge of anything, a ruler*, related to *beran*, *to bear*, as *æschbora*, *spear-bearer*; *cægborā*, *key-bearer*; *mundbora*, *protector*; *rædbora*, *counsellor*; *rōdbora*, *cross-bearer*; *strælbora*, *archer*; *wæpenbora*, *warrior*; *wōþbora*, *poet*; *wrōhtbora*, *accuser*.

§ 597. *-dōm* (OHG. *-tuom*), also used as an independent word, Goth. *dōms*, OE. *dōm*, *judgment*, OHG. *tuom*, *state, condition*, as *abbuddōm*, *abbacy*; *campdōm*, *contest*,

war; *cynedōm*, *kingdom*; *ealdordōm*, *authority*; *frēodōm*, *freedom*; *hæftedōm*, *captivity*; *hlāforddōm*, *lordship*; *læcedōm*, *medicine*; *lārēowdōm*, *office of teacher*; *reccendōm*, *rule, governance*; *swīcdōm*, *deceit*; *þēowdōm*, *service*.

§ 598. *-els* from older *-isl* by metathesis (§ 277), West Germanic *-islja-* = OHG. *-isli*, used in forming masculine nouns, as *brædels*, *covering, carpet*; *bridels*, *bridle*; *byrgels*, *tomb*; *cnyttels*, *sinew*; *fætels*, *tub*; *gyrdels*, *girdle*; *hȳdels*, *hiding-place, cave*; *mærels*, *mooring-rope*; *miercels*, *mark*; *rædels*, *riddle*; *rēcels*, *incense*; *smierels*, *ointment*; *sticels*, *goad*; *wrigels*, *covering*.

§ 599. *-en* (OHG. *-in*, acc. *-inna*), prim. Germanic *-inī*, *-injō* (West Germanic *-innjō*, § 254), mostly used to form the feminine from nouns denoting male beings; also used to form fem. abstract and concrete nouns, as *fyxen*, *she-fox*; *gyden*, *goddess*; *menen*, *female slave*; *mynece(n)*, *nun*; *þēowen(n)*, *servant*; *þignen*, *þinen*, *handmaid*; *wiergen(n)*, *she-wolf*. *gīemen(n)*, *care, responsibility*; *hæften*, *custody*; *hengen*, *hanging*; *lygen*, *falsehood*; *scielden(n)*, *protection*; *selen*, *sellen*, *gift*; *strēowen*, *bed*; *tyhten(n)*, *incitement*; *wæcen*, *vigil, watching*.

§ 600. *-en* (Goth. *-ein*, OHG. *-in*), West Germanic *-īn* beside *-innja-*, used in forming neuter nouns often with diminutive meaning, as *clīewen*, *clȳwen*, *clew*; *cȳcen*, *chicken*; *embren*, *bucket*; *fæsten*, *fortress*; *filmen*, *film*; *gāten*, *little goat, kid*; *mægden*, *māden*, *maiden*; *ticcen*, *kid*, *wēsten(n)*, *desert*.

§ 601. *-end* (*-nd*), originally the ending of the present participle of verbs (§ 441), used in forming nomina agentis, as *fēond*, *enemy*; *frēond*, *friend*; *galend*, *enchanter*; *hælend*, *Saviour*; *hettend*, *enemy*; *hlȳstend*, *listener*; *læstend*, *doer*; *līpend*, *sailor, traveller*; *metend*, *measurer*; *reccend*, *ruler*; *ridend*, *rider*; *scēotend*, *warrior*; *secgend*, *speaker*; *sellend*, *giver*; *tælend*, *reprover*; *wealdend*, *ruler*; *wīgend*, *warrior*; *wrecend*, *avenger*.

§ 602. *-ere* (Goth. *-areis*, OHG. *-āri*, Lat. *-ārius*), originally used to form nomina agentis from other nouns, and then later from verbs also, as *bæcere*, *baker*; *crēopere*, *cripple*; *costere*, *tempter*; *drēamere*, *musician*; *drincere*, *drinker*; *etere*, *eater*; *fugelere*, *fowler*; *folgere*, *follower*; *gītsere*, *miser*; *godspellere*, *evangelist*; *hearpere*, *harper*; *hordere*, *steward*, *treasurer*; *hwistlere*, *piper*; *lēnere*, *lender*; *lēasere*, *hypocrite*; *lēogere*, *liar*; *leornere*, *disciple*, *learner*; *māþere*, *mower*; *mangere*, *merchant*, *trader*; *rēafere*, *robber*; *reccere*, *ruler*; *sāðere*, *sower*; *sangere*, *singer*; *scipere*, *sailor*; *sēamere*, *tailor*; *sūtere*, *shoe-maker*; *tollere*, *tax-gatherer*; *writere*, *writer*.

§ 603. *-estre* from older *-istræ*, prim. Germanic *-istrjōn* beside *-astrjōn*, used in forming fem. nomina agentis from verbs, also occasionally from nouns, as *bæcestre*, *baker*; *cempestre*, *female novice*; *fylgestre*, *follower*; *hlēapestre*, *dancer*; *huntigestre*, *huntress*; *lārestre*, *teacher*; *loppestre*, *lobster*; *lufestre*, *lover*; *rādestre*, *reader*; *sangestre*, *songstress*; *sēamestre*, *sempstress*; *tæppestre*, *tavern-keeper*; *webbestre*, *weaver*; *witegestre*, *prophetess*.

§ 604. *-et(t)* (Goth. *-iti*, OHG. *-izzi*), prim. Germanic *-itja* beside *-atja*, used in forming neut. verbal and denominative abstract nouns, as *bærnet*, *arson*; *bealcet(t)*, *belching*; *emnet*, *plain*; *hiewet*, *cutting*; *nierwet(t)*, *narrowness*; *rēwet*, *rowing*; *rȳmet*, *space*, *extent*; *sāwet*, *sowing*; *sweofot*, *sleep*; *þēowet*, *-ot*, *slavery*; *þiccet(t)*, *thicket*.

§ 605. *-hād* (OHG. *-heit*), used to form masc. abstract nouns from nouns and adjectives, also used as an independent word, Goth. *háidus*, *way*, *manner*, OE. *hād*, OHG. *heit*, *grade*, *rank*. Examples are: *abbudhād*, *rank of an abbot*; *camphād*, *warfare*; *cildhād*, *childhood*; *cnihthād*, *boyhood*; *fulwihthād*, *baptismal vow*; *geoguphād*, *youth*; *hēalichād*, *loftiness*; *mægdenhād*, *maiden-*

hood; *mægphād*, *relationship*; *munuchād*, *monastic state*; *prēosthād*, *priesthood*; *pēowhād*, *service*; *werhād*, *manhood*, *male sex*; *wīfhād*, *womanhood*.

§ 606. *-incel* (cp. OHG. *-inklīn*), a neuter diminutive suffix of uncertain origin, as *cofincel*, *little chamber*; *hæftincel*, *slave*; *hūsincel*, *little house*; *līpincel*, *little joint*; *rāpincel*, *cord*, *string*; *scipincel*, *little ship*; *stānincel*, *little stone*; *tūnincel*, *small estate*; *pēowincel*, *young slave*; *weargincel*, *butcher-bird*.

§ 607. *-ing* (O.Icel. *-ingr*, OHG. *-ing*), used in forming masc. concrete nouns, especially patronymics, as *æþeling*, *son of a noble*, *prince*; *cýning*, *king*; *Ealdulfing*, *Scēfing*, *Scylding*. *biesting*, *first milk of a cow after calving*; *cāsering*, *a coin*; *scilling*, *shilling*; *hæring*, *herring*; *hearding*, *hero*, *bold man*; *hemming*, *shoe of hide*; *ierming*, *poor wretch*; *silfring*, *silver coin*; *swertling*, *tittlark*. From nouns like *æþeling* beside the adj. *æþele*, *noble*; and *lýtling*, *child*, beside *lýtēl*, *little*, was extracted the suffix *-ling* which became common especially in forming nouns denoting persons, as *cnæpling*, *youth*; *dēorling*, *favourite*, *darling*; *fēorþling*, *fourth part*, *farthing*; *fōstorling*, *foster-child*; *geongling*, *youth*; *gesibling*, *kinsman*; *hæftling*, *prisoner*; *hēafodling*, *equal*, *companion*; *hýrling*, *hireling*; *ierþling*, *ploughman*; *nīedling*, *slave*, *bondman*; *rāþling*, *prisoner*; *pēowling*, *slave*.

§ 608. *-lāc*, used in forming neuter nouns. Also used as an independent word, Goth. *láihs*, *dance*, O.Icel. *leikr*, *play*, OHG. *leih*, *play*, *song*. The original meaning seems to have been 'motion in general', but in OE. *lāc* means *battle*; *offering*, *sacrifice*; *gift*, *present*. Examples are: *æfenlāc*, *evening sacrifice*; *brēowlāc*, *brewing*; *brýdlāc*, *marriage gift*; *feohtlāc*, *fighting*; *rēaflāc*, *robbery*, *booty*; *sēalāc*, *gift or offering from the sea*; *scīnlāc*, *magic*; *wedlāc*, *wedlock*; *witelāc*, *punishment*; *wrōhtlāc*, *accusation*.

§ 609. *-nes(s)*, *-nis(s)* (OHG. *-nessi*, *-nissi*), used in

forming fem. abstract nouns from adjectives, as *æþelnes*, nobility; *biternes*, bitterness; *blindnes*, blindness; *cēlnes*, coolness; *clāennes*, purity; *drēorignes*, sadness; *ēadignes*, prosperity; *fæstnes*, firmness; *glēawnes*, sagacity; *grēnnes*, greenness; *hælnes*, salvation; *heardnes*, hardness; *idelnes*, idleness; *lufsumnes*, amiability; *mildheortnes*, mercy; *oferetolnes*, gluttony; *slæcnes*, slackness; *strangnes*, strength; *wætersēocnes*, dropsy; *wærnes*, prudence; *wōdnes*, madness.

§ 610. *-rāden(n)*, used in forming fem. abstract nouns denoting a state or condition. Also used as an independent word, *rāden(n)*, state, condition, related to the verb *gerādan*, to arrange, put in order. Examples are: *gefērrāden*, companionship; *geþēodrāden*, fellowship; *hīwrāden*, family, household; *holdrāden*, loyalty; *hūs-rāden*, household; *hyldrāden*, fidelity; *mādrāden*, grass mown on a meadow; *māgrāden*, relationship; *man(n)rāden*, allegiance, homage; *tēonrāden*, injury; *trēowrāden*, fidelity; *þingrāden*, intercession; *wīterāden*, punishment.

§ 611. *-scipe* (related to Goth. *skapjan*, OE. *scieppan*, to create), used in forming masc. abstract nouns, as *bēor-scipe*, feast; *burgscipe*, township; *cāfscipe*, activity; *dryhtscipe*, sovereignty; *fracodscipe*, vileness; *fēond-scipe*, hostility; *frēondscipe*, friendship; *gēapscipe*, deceit; *gefērs-cipe*, companionship; *gemāenscipe*, fellowship, communion; *gōdscipe*, goodness; *hāþenscipe*, paganism; *hlāfordscipe*, lordship; *holdscipe*, loyalty; *hwætscipe*, bravery; *manscipe*, humanity; *prūtscipe*, pride; *sinscipe*, wedlock; *tūnscipe*, inhabitants of a village; *þēodscipe*, nation; *wærscipe*, prudence.

§ 612. *-stafas*, the plural of *stæf*, staff, stick, used to form masc. abstract nouns, as *ārstafas*, kindness; *fācen-stafas*, treachery; *hearmstafas*, trouble, affliction; *sorg-stafas*, sorrow, affliction; *wrōhtstafas*, crime; *wyrd-stafas*, destiny.

§ 613. *-þo*, *-þ*, older *-þu* (Goth. *-īpa*, OHG. *-ida*, prim. Germanic *-īpō*), used in forming fem. abstract nouns from adjectives, as *fýlþ*, *filth*; *hīehþ(o)*, *height*; *hīenþ(o)*, *humiliation*; *hlīewþ*, *covering, shelter*; *hrīefþ(o)*, *scurfiness*; *iermþ(o)*, *poverty*; *iergþ(o)*, *cowardice*; *lāþþo*, *hatred*; *lengþ(o)*, *length*; *mārþ(o)*, *fame, glory*; *myr(i)gþ*, *mirth*; *sælþ*, *happiness*; *slāwþ*, *sloth*; *strengþ(o)*, *strength*; *trēowþ*, *trīewþ*, *fidelity*; *trymþ*, *firmness*; *þīefþ*, *theft*; *wræþþ(o)*, *wrath*. On the *t* in words like *gescentu*, *disgrace*; *gesyntu*, *health*; *ofermēttu*, *pride*, see § 305. In nouns formed from adjectives ending in *-lēas*, the *-þ* became *-t* after the *s* (§ 305), as *lārlēast*, *-lēst*, *ignorance*; *līflēast*, *death*; *andgietlēast*, *folly*; *slāplēast*, *sleeplessness*; *gieme-lēst*, *carelessness, negligence*; *hlāflēast*, *want of bread*; *hygelēast*, *thoughtlessness*.

§ 614. *-u*, *-o*, embracing fem. abstract nouns formed from adjectives. In prim. Germanic the stem of this class of nouns ended in *-īn*, cp. Goth. *managei*, *multitude*, gen. *manageins*. The OE. nouns have *-u*, *-o* from the *ō*-declension (§ 365), as *menniscu*, *-o*, *humanity, human state*; *micelu*, *size*; *wæstmbāro*, *fertility*; *wlenco*, *pride*. For further examples, see § 563, 1.

§ 615. *-ung*, more rarely *-ing* (O.Icel. *-ung*, *-ing*; OHG. *-ung*, *-unga*), used in forming fem. abstract nouns, especially from the second class of weak verbs (§§ 535-6), as *ābīdung*, *waiting*; *āscung*, *interrogation*; *biegung*, *curvature*; *blācung*, *pallor*; *brocung*, *affliction*; *cēapung*, *trading*; *costung*, *temptation*; *deorcung*, *twilight*; *gemiltsung*, *pity*; *glōmung*, *gloaming*; *handlung*, *handling*; *hārung*, *hoariness*; *hearpung*, *harping*; *langung*, *longing*; *lēasung*, *lying, leasing*; *murcung*, *murmuring*; *niþerung*, *humiliation*; *scēawung*, *contemplation*; *scotung*, *shooting*; *strūd-ung*, *robbery*; *swigung*, *silence*; *tācung*, *signification*; *tēopung*, *tithing*; *pegnung*, *ministration*; *þingung*, *intercession*; *warnung*, *warning*; *wiccung*, *witchcraft*; *wun-*

ung, dwelling. ærning, riding, racing; grēting, greeting; ielding, delay; ræding, reading; wending, turning.

§ 616. *-wist*, used in forming fem. abstract nouns. Also used as an independent word. Goth. *wists*, OHG. OE. *wist*, being, existence, substance, the verbal abstract noun of OE. *wesan*, to be. Examples are: *hūs-wist*, household; *los-wist*, perdition, loss; *mid-wist*, presence; *nēa-wist*, neighbourhood; *on-wist*, dwelling in a place; *sam-wist*, living together; *stedewist*, steadiness, constancy.

COMPOUND NOUNS.

§ 617. In compound nouns formed by composition, the second element is always a noun, but the first element may be a noun, adjective, or a particle. The declension and gender of compound nouns are determined by the final element. Examples are:

āclēaf, oak-leaf; *æfenmete*, supper; *æppelwīn*, cider; *bālfyr*, funeral fire; *bāncofa*, body; *bōccræft*, literature; *borggielda*, debtor; *brōþorsunu*, nephew; *brýdguma*, bridegroom; *campstede*, battle-field; *cornhūs*, granary; *cūhierde*, cow-herd; *dōmdæg*, doomsday; *earmbēag*, bracelet; *fæderslaga*, parricide; *feldhūs*, tent; *fierdlēoþ*, war-song; *folctoga*, general; *flāschama*, body; *gārbēam*, spear-shaft; *godspell*, gospel; *gūpbana*, banner; *hāmstede*, homestead; *handgeweorc*, handiwork; *lārhūs*, school; *mōthūs*, court-house; *rīmcraeft*, arithmetic; *sangbōc*, hymn-book; *sācyning*, sea-king; *scōhnægl*, shoe-nail; *stæfcraeft*, grammar; *stānbrycg*, stone-bridge; *tungolcraeft*, astronomy; *wæterād*, dropsy; *weorcdæg*, work-day; *wifman*, woman; *woruldcaru*, worldly care.

ānhaga, recluse; *beorhtrodon*, heaven; *blæcgimm*, jet; *brādbrim*, ocean; *cwicæht*, live-stock; *dimhūs*, prison; *ealdormann*, magistrate; *ealdspræc*, tradition; *fæder(e)n-mæg*, paternal kinsman; *fēowergield*, fourfold payment; *frēobearn*, freeborn child; *hēahsynn*, deadly sin; *lēas-*

gielp, *vainglory*; middelnihht, *midnight*; nēahmæg, *near relation*; rihthand, *right hand*; sorglufu, *sad love*; sōp-word, *true word*; widsæ, *open sea*; wōhgod, *false god*; wansceaft, *misfortune*.

angbrēost, *asthma*; eftcyme, *return*; ellorsīp, *departure, death*; gēosceaft, *destiny*; hidercyme, *arrival*; niþergang, *descent*; samodspræc, *colloquy*.

§ 618. The first element of a compound noun regularly retained its final vowel, when it was a short *i*-, *u*-, or *wa*-stem. The final vowel generally remained in *ja*-stems whether the stem-syllable of the first element was long or short. On the other hand it regularly disappeared in *n*-, and short *ō*-stems. Examples are: berelāf, *barley loaf*; cwidegiedd, *song*; elebēam, *olive-tree*; merewīf, *water-witch*; selegiest, *hall-guest*; winemæg, *kinsman*. duruweard, *door-keeper*; felawyrðnes, *loquacity*; hagosteald, *bachelor*; heoruword, *fierce word*; magorinc, *warrior*; medudrēam, *mead-joy*; wudubearo, *grove*. beadocræft, *skill in war*; bealopanc, *evil thought*.

endelāf, *last remnant*; hierdebōc, *pastoral book*; ierfe-weard, *heir*; wītestōw, *place of torment*. cynerīce, *kingdom*; herefolc, *army*.

bangār, *deadly spear*; gumcynn, *mankind*; frumbearn, *firstborn child*; nambōc, *register*; steorsceāwere, *astromer*; swēorbān, *neck bone*. ciricbōc, *church-book*; heortcōpu, *heart-disease*; moldgræf, *grave*; nunmynster, *convent, nunnery*; sunbēam, *sunbeam*. ēarwicga, *earwig*. cargāst, *sad spirit*; giefstōl, *throne*; luftācen, *love token*.

§ 619. Sometimes the first element of compounds appears in its inflected form, as dāgesēage, *daisy*; gēacessūre, *woodsorrel*; hādesmann, *member of a particular order*; stēoresmann beside stēormann, *steersman*; Tīwesdæg, *Tuesday*. hellebryne, *hell-fire*; hellewīte, *hell-torment*; hildestrenge, *warlike strength*; rōdehengen(n), *crucifixion*. mōnanāfen, *Sunday evening*; mōnandæg beside mōndæg,

Monday; *nunnanmynster* beside *nunmynster*, *nunnery*; *sunnandæg*, *Sunday*; *sunnanniht*, *Saturday evening*. *ægerfelma*, *film of an egg*; *ægergeolu*, *yolk of egg*, beside *ægsciell*, *egg-shell*. *Englaland*, *England*; *witenagemōt*, *parliament*.

ADJECTIVES.

§ 620. Adjectives, like nouns, may be conveniently divided into three classes: simple, derivative, and compound. Examples of simple adjectives are: *beald*, *bold*; *blæc*, *black*; *ceald*, *cold*; *dēop*, *deep*; *eald*, *old*; *earm*, *poor*; *full*, *full*; *geolu*, *yellow*; *geong*, *young*; *hāl*, *whole*, *sound*; *heard*, *hard*; *læt*, *slow*; *lang*, *long*; *lēof*, *dear*; *mære*, *famous*; *nīewe*, *new*; *rēad*, *red*; *scearp*, *sharp*; *smæl*, *small*; *strang*, *strong*; *trum*, *firm*; *picce*, *thick*; *wāc*, *weak*; *wis*, *wise*.

§ 621. Derivative adjectives often have the same inseparable prefixes as nouns (§§ 564-94), as *andfenge*, *acceptable*; *ansund*, *entire*, *sound*; *edgeong*, *growing*; *gecynde*, *innate*, *natural*; *sammæle*, *agreed*; *unsynnig*, *innocent*.

SUFFIXES.

§ 622. *-bære* (OHG. *-bāri*, Lat. *-fer* in *lūcifer*, *light-bearing*; originally a verbal adj. from *beran*, *to bear*), as *æppelbære*, *apple-bearing*; *ātorbære*, *poisonous*; *cwealm-bære*, *deadly*; *feferbære*, *winged*; *fýrbære*, *fiery*; *gram-bære*, *passionate*; *hālbære*, *wholesome*; *hornbære*, *horned*; *lēhtbære*, *bright*, *splendid*; *lustbære*, *desirable*; *mann-bære*, *producing men*; *tungolbære*, *starry*; *wæstmbære*, *fruitful*; *wigbære*, *warlike*.

§ 623. *-cund* (Goth. *-kunds*, OHG. *-kunt*, denoting *kind*, *sort*, *origin*; originally a participial adj., related to *cennan*, *to bring forth*, *beget*), as *æpelcund*, *of noble origin*; *dēofolcund*, *diabolical*; *eorlcund*, *noble*; *eorpcund*, *earthly*;

feorrcund, *foreign*; gāstcund, *spiritual*; godcund, *divine*; heofoncund, *heavenly*; innancund, *internal, inward*; sǣwolcund, *spiritual*; weoroldcund, *worldly*; yfelcund, *evil*.

§ 624. -ede (OHG. -ōti), denoting *provided with, furnished with*, used in forming adjectives from nouns, as coppede, *topped, polled*; hēalede, *ruptured*; hōcede, *shaped like a hook*; hoferede, *humpbacked*; hringed(e), *furnished with rings*; micelhēafdede, *big-headed*; sūrēagede, *blear-eyed*; prihēafdede, *three-headed*.

§ 625. -en (Goth. -ein, OHG. -in, prim. Germanic -īnaz = Lat. -inus), used in forming adjectives denoting the material of which a thing is made, as æscen, *made of ash-wood*; bræsen, *of brass*; fellen, *of skins*; flāscen, *of flesh*; fȳren, *fiery*; gāten, *of goats*; gielpen, *boastful*; gylden, *golden*; hāren, *of hair*; hwæten, *wheaten*; hwīlen, *transitory*; hyrnen, *made of horns*; lēaden, *leaden*; picen, *of pitch*; rygen, *of rye*; seolfren, *of silver*; sīden, *silken*; stānen, *stony, of stone*; sweffen, *sulphurous*; trēowen, *wooden*; tunglen, *of the stars*.

NOTE.—Forms like bræsen, fellen, lēaden, trēowen, for *bresen, *fillen, *lieden, *triēwen, are new formations made direct from the corresponding nouns, without umlaut.

§ 626. -erne (prim. Germanic -rōnja-), used in forming adjectives denoting *direction*, as ēasterne, *east, eastern*; norþerne, *northern*; sūþerne, *southern*; westerne, *western*.

§ 627. -fæst, same word as the adj. fæst, *fast, fixed, firm*, as ærendfæst, *bound on an errand*; ārfæst, *virtuous*; bīd-fæst, *stationary*; blādfæst, *glorious*; eorpfæst, *fixed in the earth*; gieffæst, *gifted*; hogfæst, *prudent*; hūs-fæst, *having a home*; hygefæst, *wise*; mægenfæst, *vigorous*; sigefæst, *victorious*; stedefæst, *steadfast*; trēowfæst, *faithful*.

§ 628. -feald (Goth. -falps, OHG. -falt, related to fealdan, *to fold*), used in forming adjectives from other adjectives,

especially from numerals, as *ānfeald*, *single*; *felafeald*, *manifold*; *hundfeald*, *hundredfold*; *manigfeald*, *manifold*; *seofonfeald*, *sevenfold*; *twēntigfeald*, *twentyfold*.

§ 629. *-full*, sometimes weakened to *-fol*, same word as the adj. *full*, *full*, used in forming adjectives, especially from abstract nouns, as *andgietfull*, *intelligent*; *bealofull*, *wicked*; *bismerfull*, *disgraceful*; *forhtfull*, *timorous*; *gelēafull*, *believing*; *geornfull*, *eager*; *hyhtfull*, *joyful*; *mōdfull*, *arrogant*, *proud*; *scyldfull*, *guilty*; *þancfull*, *thoughtful*; *wordfull*, *wordy*; *wundorfull*, *wonderful*.

§ 630. *-ig* (Goth. *-ag*, *-eig*, OHG. *-ag*, *-īg*). The two Germanic suffixes *-ag*, *-īg*, can only be distinguished in OE. by the presence or absence of umlaut in the stem-syllable of the derivative adjective. Examples are: *andig*, *envious*; *cræftig*, *strong*; *cystig*, *bountiful*; *dēawig*, *dewy*; *fyrstig*, *frosty*; *gesælig*, *happy*, *prosperous*; *gepyldig*, *patient*; *grēdig*, *greedy*; *hungrig*, *hungry*; *mōdig*, *brave*, *bold*; *ōmig*, *rusty*; *scyldig*, *guilty*; *stānig* beside *stānig*, *stony*; *þornig*, *thorny*; *þurstig* beside *þyrstig*, *thirsty*; *wordig*, *wordy*; *ȳstig*, *stormy*.

§ 631. *-iht* (OHG. *-aht(i)*, *-oht(i)*, NHG. *-icht*) has much the same meaning or force as *-ig*, as *cambiht*, *crested*; *croppiht*, *bunchy*; *finiht*, *finny*; *hāriht*, *hairy*; *hæþiht*, *heathy*; *hrēodiht*, *reedy*; *īfiht*, *covered with ivy*; *sandiht*, *sandy*; *stāniht* beside *stāniht*, *stony*; *þorniht* beside *þyrniht*, *thorny*; *wudiht*, *wooded*, *forest-like*.

§ 632. *-isc* (Goth. *-isk*, OHG. *-isc*, *-isk*), generally connoting the quality of the object denoted by the simplex, as *centisc*, *Kentish*; *cildisc*, *childish*; *denisc*, *Danish*; *englisc*, *English*; *entisc*, *of giants*; *eorlisc*, *noble*; *folcisc*, *popular*; *heofonisc*, *heavenly*; *inlendisc*, *native*; *mennisc*, *human*; *scyttisc*, *Scotch*; *wielisc*, *foreign*, *Welsh*.

NOTE.—I. Forms like *eorlisc*, *folcisc* for **ierlisc*, **fylcisc*, are new formations made direct from the corresponding nouns, without umlaut.

2. Adjectives of this kind are sometimes used as nouns, as *īedisc*, *property*, *hīwisc*, *family*, *household*; *mennisc*, *mankind*, *people*.

§ 633. *-lēas* (Goth. *-láus*, OHG. *-lōs*). Also used as an independent word Goth. *láus*, *empty*; OE. *lēas*, OHG. *lōs*, *devoid of*. Examples are: *ārlēas*, *impious*, *cruel*; *bānlēas*, *boneless*; *beardlēas*, *beardless*; *carlēas*, *careless*; *cwidelēas*, *speechless*; *fæderlēas*, *fatherless*; *gīemelēas*, *heedless*; *hāmlēas*, *homeless*; *hrōflēas*, *roofless*; *māgenlēas*, *powerless*; *saclēas*, *innocent*; *sprāclēas*, *speechless*; *tōplēas*, *toothless*; *weorþlēas*, *worthless*.

§ 634. *-lic* (Goth. *-leik*, OHG. *-lih*, *-lich*). Also preserved as an independent word in Goth. *ga-leiks*, OHG. *gi-lich*, OE. *ge-lic*, *like*; originally the same word as Goth. *leik*, OE. *lic*, *body*. Examples are: *ānlic*, *unique*; *ānlic*, *solitary*; *cildlic*, *infantine*; *cynelic*, *royal*; *dæglic*, *daily*; *dēadlic*, *deadly*; *ealdlic*, *venerable*; *forhtlic*, *afraid*; *gēarlic*, *yearly*; *gesinsclic*, *conjugal*; *heofonlic*, *heavenly*; *hetelic*, *hostile*; *lofllic*, *praiseworthy*; *mennisclic*, *human*; *mārlic*, *famous*; *nytlic*, *useful*; *stōwlic*, *local*; *tīdlic*, *temporary*; *wīfllic*, *womanly*.

§ 635. *-ol* (Goth. *-ul*, OHG. *-al*), mostly used in forming adjectives from verbal forms, as *andgietol*, *intelligent*; *beswicol*, *deceitful*; *etol*, *voracious*; *hetol*, *hostile*; *hlagol*, *apt to laugh*; *meagol*, *earnest*, *vigorous*; *numol*, *capacious*; *nyttol*, *useful*; *rēafol*, *rapacious*; *slāpol*, *somnolent*, *sleepy*; *sprecol*, *talkative*; *þancol*, *thoughtful*; *wacol*, *vigilant*; *witol*, *wise*.

§ 636. *-sum* (OHG. *-sam*; Goth. *-sam* only preserved in *lustu-sams*, *longed for*, *much desired*). Also used as an independent word Goth. *sama*, *same*, OHG. *sama*, *in like manner*, OE. *swā* *same*, *similarly*. *-sum* stands in ablaut-relation to OHG. *-sam*. Examples are: *angsum*, *troublesome*; *ānsum*, *whole*; *friþsum*, *pacific*; *fremsum*, *beneficial*; *gelēafsum*, *credible*, *faithful*; *genyhtsum*, *abundant*.

gesibbsum, peaceable, friendly; *langsum*, lasting, tedious; *lufsum*, amiable; *wilsum*, pleasant; *wynsum*, winsome.

§ 637. *-weard* (OHG. *-wert*, Goth. *-waírþs*, originally a verbal adjective and related to *weorþan*, *to become*), used in forming adjectives denoting position or direction, as *æfterweard*, following; *andweard*, present; *forþweard*, inclined forward; *heononweard*, transitory, going hence; *hiderweard*, hitherward; *innanweard*, inward, internal; *norþ(e)weard*, northward; *nīþerweard*, downward; *ongēanweard*, going towards; *tōweard*, toward, about to come.

§ 638. *-wende*, related to *wendan*, *to turn*, used in forming adjectives from nouns and other adjectives, as *hāl-wende*, healthful, wholesome; *hāt-wende*, hot, burning; *hwīl-wende*, transitory, temporary; *lāþ-wende*, hateful, hostile; *lēof-wende*, loving, friendly; *luf-wende*, amiable.

§ 639. Suffixes, which were no longer felt as such in OE., are omitted, e. g. the *-od*, *-ol* (*-el*), *-en*, *-er* (*-or*) in adjectives like *forod*, broken, decayed; *nacod*, naked. *ācol*, timid; *dēagol*, diegol, secret; *īdel*, vain; *lȳtel*, little; *sweotol*, plain, evident; *yfel*, evil. *efen*, even; *fægen*, glad; *open*, open. *bitter*, bitter; *fæger*, fair; *sicor*, sure; *snottor*, wise; *wacor*, vigilant, watchful. On the suffixes in the present and past participles, see §§ 520, 601.

COMPOUND ADJECTIVES.

§ 640. In compound adjectives formed by composition, the second element is always an adjective or used as an adjective, but the first element may be a noun, adjective, verb, or particle. On the loss or retention of the final vowel in the first element of compounds see § 618. Examples are: *æhtspēdig*, wealthy; *ælfsciene*, beautiful as a fairy; *bæcslitol*, slandering; *beadocræftig*, skilful in war; *blōdrēad*, blood-red; *brimceald*, sea-cold; *brūnfāg*, brown-coloured; *brynehāt*, burning hot; *cynegōd*, noble; *dād-*

cēne, bold in deeds; *dēapfæge*, fated to die; *dēopþancol*, thoughtful; *dōmgeorn*, ambitious; *druncengeorn*, drunken; *dūnlendisc*, hilly; *eallgōd*, perfectly good; *ecgheard*, hard of edge; *efeneald*, contemporary; *ellenrōf*, brave; *ellorfūs*, ready to depart; *fæstræd*, steadfast; *felasynnig*, very guilty; *feohstrang*, opulent; *folcmære*, celebrated; *fripgeorn*, pacific; *gærsgrẽne*, grass-green; *gearoþancol*, ready-witted; *healfcwic*, half dead; *hetepancol*, hostile; *limhāl*, sound in limb; *luftieme*, loving, benevolent; *mōdcearig*, anxious; *namcūþ*, celebrated; *rædsnotor*, wise; *seldcūþ*, unfamiliar; *sigorēadig*, victorious; *snāhwit*, snow-white; *þancsnotor*, wise; *wīdcūþ*, widely known. The present and past participles often form the second element of compounds, as *eallwealdende*, omnipotent; *glēawhycgende*, thoughtful; *healfslæpende*, half-asleep; *lēohtberende*, luminous; *rihtwillende*, well-meaning; *sæðberende*, seed-bearing; *tēargēotende*, tearful. *æfterboren*, posthumous; *ælfremede*, foreign; *ærboren*, first-born; *cyneboren*, of royal birth; *goldhroden*, adorned with gold; *healfsoden*, half-cooked; *rihtgefremed*, orthodox.

§ 641. In addition to the class of compound adjectives given above, the parent language had a class, the second element of which was originally a noun. Such compounds are generally called *bahuvrīhi* or possessive compounds, as Lat. *longipēs*, having a long foot, long-footed; Gr. *δυσηνής*, having an evil mind, hostile; Goth. *hráinjahairts*, having a pure heart, pure-hearted. In OE. the most common adjectives of this kind are those ending in *-heort* and *-mōd*, as *clænheort*, pure in heart; *gramheort*, hostile-minded; *mildheort*, gentle; *stearcheort*, stout-hearted; *wulfheort*, savage; *drēorigmōd*, sad; *fæstmōd*, constant; *glædmōd*, cheerful; *grammōd*, fierce; *ierremōd*, angry; *langmōd*, patient; *micelmōd*, magnanimous; *strangmōd*, resolute; *sārigmōd*, sad; *þancolmōd*, thoughtful; *wrāþmōd*, wrathful. Other examples are: *brūnecg*, brown-edged; *glēaw-*

ferhþ, prudent; *gyldenfeax*, golden-haired; *stielecg*, steel-edged; *yfelspræce*, evil-speaking.

VERBS.

§ 642. From a morphological point of view, all verbs may be divided into two great classes: simple and compound. Simple verbs are sub-divided into primary and denominative verbs. To the former sub-division belong the strong verbs and a certain number of weak verbs, and to the latter the denominative verbs. The simple primary verbs are here left out of further consideration, as their formation belongs to the wider field of comparative grammar. Compound verbs are of various kinds: (1) those formed from simple verbs by means of separable or inseparable particles, (2) those formed from nouns and adjectives with verbal prefixes or suffixes. Separable verbs call for no further comment, because they merely consist of the juxtaposition of two independent words.

§ 643. Simple verbs are formed direct from nouns and adjectives or from the corresponding strong verbs, as *ærendian*, to go on an errand; *andswerian*, to answer; *andwyrðan*, to answer; *ārian*, to honour; *baþian*, to bathe; *cwielman*, to torture, kill; *cyssan*, to kiss; *dēman*, to judge; *fēðan*, to feed; *flīeman*, to put to flight; *geliefan*, to believe; *hiertan*, to hearten, encourage; *lāran*, to teach; *liehtan*, to give light; *mengan*, to mix; *nemnan*, to name; *rēafian*, to plunder; *rȳman*, to make clear, enlarge; *sālan*, to bind; *scendan*, to put to shame; *scrȳðan*, to clothe; *sīþian*, to travel; *sorgian*, to grieve; *swāetan*, to sweat; *tȳnan*, to enclose.

brāðan, to broaden; *cēlan*, to cool; *cȳpan*, to make known; *fægñian*, to rejoice; *fullian*, to fulfil; *fyllan*, to fill; *hālan*, to heal; *hlȳðan*, to make a noise; *ieldan*, to delay; *lēasian*, to tell lies; *māeran*, to proclaim; *nearwian*, to become narrow; *openian*, to open; *scierpan*, to sharpen.

ærnan, to cause to run; *bærnan*, to burn; *bïegan*, to bend; *cwellan*, to kill; *drencan*, to submerge; *fiellan*, to fell; *geswencan*, to injure; *gewieldan*, to overpower; *lædan*, to lead; *lecgan*, to lay; *nerian*, to save; *ræran*, to raise; *sāgan*, to lay low; *sencan*, to submerge; *sengan*, to singe; *settan*, to set; *swebban*, to lull to sleep.

§ 644. Compound verbs are formed from simple verbs, nouns, and adjectives, by means of various prefixes. See below.

PREFIXES.

§ 645. From the list of prefixes given below are excluded such words as *æt*, *ofer*, *þurh*, *under*, *wiþ*, *wiþer*, and *ymb(e)*, which were separable or inseparable according as they were stressed or unstressed.

§ 646. *ā-* (OHG. *ar-*, *ir-*), the unstressed form of *or-* (§ 580), as *āberan*, to remove; *ābēodan*, to announce; *ābīdan*, to abide; *ābitan*, to devour; *āblinnan*, to cease; *āceorfan*, to cut off; *ādōn*, to send away; *ādrīfan*, to expel; *āfaran*, to depart; *āgiefan*, to repay; *āhēawan*, to hew off; *ālætan*, to relinquish; *ārīsan*, to arise; *āscūfan*, to shove off; *āstīgan*, to climb.

ācwellan, to destroy; *ādrencan*, to submerge; *āfæstnian*, to confirm; *āflieman*, to banish; *āfrēfran*, to console; *ālædan*, to lead away; *āliehtan*, to illuminate; *āliesan*, to redeem; *ālibban*, to survive; *āræran*, to rear, lift up.

§ 647. *be-* (OHG. *bi-*), the unstressed form of *bī-* (§ 570), as *bebrecan*, to break off; *bebūgan*, to encompass; *beclingan*, to enclose; *becuman*, to become, happen; *becweþan*, to bequeath; *bedrincan*, to drink in, absorb; *behealdan*, to behold; *behēawan*, to cut off; *belicgan*, to surround; *belimpan*, to happen; *belūcan*, to lock up; *bemurnan*, to bewail; *benēotan*, to deprive; *besingan*, to bewitch; *be-slēan*, to deprive of; *beþringan*, to surround; *bewindan*, to bind round.

bebycgan, *to sell*; bebyrgan, *to bury*; befæstan, *to make fast*; behēafðian, *to behead*; behelian, *to cover over*; belāwan, *to betray*; belendan, *to deprive of land*; beswālan, *to scorch*; bepencan, *to consider*; bewēpan, *to bewail*.

§ 648. ed-, *re-, again* (§ 571), as edgieldan, *to repay*. edbyrdan, *to regenerate*; edhiertan, *to encourage*; edlācan, *to repeat*; edlāstan, *to repeat*; edstapelian, *to re-establish*; edwierpan, *to recover*.

§ 649. for- (Goth. *faír-*, late OHG. and MHG. *ver-*). The real unstressed form is *fer-*, corresponding to Goth. *faír-* and German *ver-*, but already at an early period the originally stressed form *for-* came to be used in place of *fer-*. The old stressed form has been preserved in *fórwyrd*, *destruction*, beside *forwéorpan*, *to perish*. Examples are: *forbēodan*, *to forbid*; *forbrecan*, *to destroy*; *forcweþan*, *to rebuke*; *fordōn*, *to destroy*; *fordrifan*, *to expel*; *forfaran*, *to perish*; *forfōn*, *to seize, take away*; *forgān*, *to forgo*; *forgiefan*, *to forgive*; *forgieldan*, *to repay*; *forlācan*, *to lead astray*; *forlēosan*, *to lose*; *formeltan*, *to melt away*; *forniman*, *to take away*; *forrædan*, *to plot against*; *forscrifan*, *to proscribe*; *forsēon*, *to despise*; *forswerian*, *to swear falsely*; *forweorpan*, *to perish*.

forbryttan, *to break in pieces*; *forcierran*, *to turn aside*; *fordælan*, *to deal out*; *fordēman*, *to condemn*; *forealdian*, *to become old*; *forgiēman*, *to neglect*; *forhabban*, *to restrain*; *forherigan*, *to ravage*; *forhogian*, *to despise*; *forlēadan*, *to mislead*; *forsendan*, *to banish*; *forwyrcean*, *to do wrong*.

§ 650. ful(l)- (OHG. *folle-*), originally the adj. *full*, *full*, used adverbially, as *fullberstan*, *to break completely*; *fullbrecan*, *to violate*; *fuldōn*, *to satisfy*; *fulgān*, *to accomplish*; *fullgrōwan*, *to grow to maturity*; *fullþungen*, *fully grown*.

fulbētan, *to make full amends*; *fullendian*, *to complete*; *fullfremman*, *to fulfil*; *fulfyllan*, *to fulfil*; *fullæstan*, *to give aid*; *fultrūwian*, *to confide in*.

§ 651. *ge-* (OHG. *gi-*, unstressed form of OHG. Goth. *ga-*), originally a prep. meaning *together* (§ 574), as *gebelgan*, to *provoke*; *gebēodan*, to *command*; *gebeorgan*, to *protect*; *geberan*, to *bring forth*; *gebindan*, to *bind*; *gecēosan*, to *choose*; *gefaran*, to *go*; *gefrignan*, to *learn by asking*; *gehātan*, to *promise*; *gelimpan*, to *happen*; *gerinnan*, to *congeal*; *gestigan*, to *mount*; *gewinnan*, to *win*.

ge-ærnian, to *gain by running*; *ge-āgnian*, to *claim as one's own*; *ge-āscian*, to *learn by asking*; *gebādan*, to *compel*; *gebāran*, to *behave*; *gebētan*, to *improve*; *ge-hefigian*, to *make heavy*; *gehycgan*, to *think*; *geliefan*, to *believe*; *gemētan*, to *discover*; *gerācan*, to *obtain*; *gesecgan*, to *say, tell*; *geþēodan*, to *join together*.

§ 652. *mis-* (Goth. *missa-*, OHG. *missa-*, *missi-*, § 577), as *misbēodan*, to *ill-treat*; *miscweþan*, to *speak incorrectly*; *misfōn*, to *make a mistake*; *misfaran*, to *go astray*; *misdōn*, to *transgress*.

misfadian, to *arrange wrongly*; *misfēran*, to *go astray*; *misgieman*, to *neglect*; *misgrētan*, to *insult*; *mishieran*, to *disregard*; *mislāran*, to *advise wrongly*; *misrācan*, to *revile*; *miswenden*, to *pervert*.

§ 653. *of-*, the unstressed form of *æf-* (§ 566), as *ofbēatan*, to *beat to death*; *ofgān*, to *exact*; *ofgiefan*, to *give up*; *ofmunan*, to *call to mind*; *ofsittan*, to *oppress*; *ofslingan*, to *stab to death*; *ofswingan*, to *scourge to death*; *oftēon*, to *withdraw*; *ofpringan*, to *press upon*.

ofāscian, to *find out by asking*; *ofclipian*, to *obtain by calling*; *ofearmian*, to *have pity on*; *offēran*, to *overtake*; *offiellan*, to *kill*; *ofsendan*, to *send for*; *ofsteppan*, to *trample upon*; *ofstician*, to *stab to death*; *ofwundrian*, to *be astonished*.

§ 654. *on-* (OHG. *int-*), the unstressed form of *and-* (§ 569), as *onbindan*, to *unbind*; *onbēodan*, to *bid*; *onberan*, to *carry off*; *oncnāwan*, to *perceive*; *onfealdan*, to *unfold*; *onfindan*, to *discover*; *ongietan*, to *perceive*;

onlūcan, to unlock; *onsīgan*, to sink; *onspannan*, to unfasten; *onwindan*, to unwind; *onwrēon*, to uncover; *onwripan*, to uncover. *onsēlan*, to untie; *onscrȳdan*, to undress; *ontȳnan*, to uncloze, open; *onwenden*, to change.

§ 655. *op-*, from, away (Goth. *unþa-* in *unþaþliuhan*, to escape), the unstressed form of *ūþ-*, preserved in *ūþgenge*, departing; *ūþmāte*, immense. Examples are: *opcwelan*, to die; *opberan*, to carry away; *opberstan*, to escape; *opflēon*, to flee away; *opglīdan*, to glide away; *ophebban*, to exalt; *opiernan*, to run away; *opswerian*, to deny on oath.

opfæstan, to inflict upon; *ophȳdan*, to hide from; *oplædan*, to lead away; *opstillan*, to stop; *opwenden*, to turn away.

§ 656. *tō-* (OHG. *zar-*, *zir-*, MHG. *zer-*). The real unstressed form is *te-*, *ti-*, corresponding to OHG. *zar-*, *zir-*, but already at an early period the originally stressed form *tō-* came to be used in place of *te-*. The old stressed form is preserved in OHG. *zur-* in compound nouns, Goth. *tus-*, asunder, apart, and Gr. *δυσ-*, hard, bad, ill, as in *δυσμαθής*, hard to learn. Examples are: *tōberstan*, to burst asunder; *tōblāwan*, to blow to pieces; *tōbrecean*, to break to pieces; *tōceorfan*, to cut in pieces; *tōclēofan*, to cleave asunder; *tōfeallan*, to fall to pieces; *tōflōwan*, to flow apart; *tōlūcan*, to pull asunder; *tōniman*, to separate; *tōscūfan*, to push apart; *tōsittan*, to be separated; *tōsnīpan*, to cut up; *tōstandan*, to stand apart; *tōweorpan*, to scatter.

tōbrȳsan, to crush in pieces; *tōcnyssan*, to shatter; *tōdælan*, to sunder; *tōdrāfan*, to disperse; *tōfēran*, to separate; *tōfiellan*, to cause to fall asunder; *tōhaccian*, to hack to pieces; *tōrendan*, to tear asunder; *tōtwāman*, to divide.

SUFFIXES.

§ 657. **-ettan** (Goth. **-atjan**, OHG. **-azzen**, later **-ezen**), used in forming intensitive verbs, as **grimettan**, to roar, rage; **hlēapettan**, to leap up; **hoppettan**, to leap, throb; **lēasettan**, to feign, pretend; **lyffettan**, to flatter; **licettan**, to flatter; **sārettan**, to lament; **scofettan**, to drive hither and thither; **scrallettan**, to sound loudly; **sicettan**, to sigh; **spornettan**, to kick; **stammettan**, to stammer; **sworettan**, to sigh, pant.

§ 658. **-lācan**, also used as an independent verb, **lācan**, to move quickly, spring, cp. § 608. Examples are: **āfenlācan**, to become evening; **dyrstlācan**, to dare, presume; **efenlācan**, to imitate; **gēanlācan**, to unite, join; **loflācan**, to praise; **nēalācan**, to approach; **rihtlācan**, to put right; **sumorlācan**, to draw on towards summer; **prīstlācan**, to embolden; **winterlācan**, to grow wintry.

§ 659. **-(e)sian**. From verbs like Goth. **hatizōn**, to hate, beside **hatis**, hatred; OE. **eg(e)sian**, OHG. **egisōn**, to terrify, beside Goth. **agis**, OHG. **egiso**, OE. **egesa**, fear, was extracted the ending Goth. OHG. **-isōn**, OE. **-(e)sian**, which then came to be used in forming verbs from nouns and adjectives which did not originally contain **-is-**, as **bletsian** older **blētsian**, to bless; **blīpsian**, blissian, to rejoice; **clānsian**, to cleanse; **gītsian**, to covet; **grimsian**, to rage; **hrēowsian**, to rue; **iersian**, to rage, be angry; **mārsian**, to celebrate; **miltsian**, to pity, have mercy on; **rīcsian**, **rīxian**, to rule.

INDEX

The numbers after a word refer to the paragraphs in the Grammar.

- ā 133, 265.
 ā- 564, 646.
 abbod 57, 153, 298.
 abbuddōm 597.
 abbudhād 605.
 ābēodan 646.
 āberan 646.
 ābidan 646.
 ābidung 615.
 ābitan 646.
 āblinnan 646.
 ābrēmende 564.
 ābrēoþan 239, 494.
 ābūtan 559.
 ac (ah) 311, 560.
 āc 133, 310, 411, 562.
 ācbēam 11.
 ācealdian 536.
 āceorfan 646.
 āclēaf 617.
 ācol 431, 639.
 ācræftan 530.
 ācumba 401.
 ācwellan 646.
 ācwencan 531.
 ācwinan 490.
 ācwincan 498.
 ād 28, 133, 335.
 ādl 304, 370.
 ādōn 646.
 ādrencan 646.
 ādrifan 646.
 ādhwæscan 531.
 ā (āw), 134, 266, 390.
 ā- 565.
 æcer 17, 54, 155, 219,
 232, 255, 310, 339.
 æcern 54.
 æces (æx), 58, 249, 311.
 ædre 260, 404.
 æf- 566.
 æfelle 565.
 æfen 119, 293.
 æfenlāc 608.
 æfenlæcan 658.
 æfenmete 617.
 æfest 566.
 æfnan 56.
 æfnung 373.
 æftan 558.
 æfter 54, 295, 446, 559,
 560.
 æfter- 567.
 æfterboren 11, 640.
 æfterfolgere 567.
 æfterfolgian 14.
 æftergenga 567.
 æftergield 11, 567.
 æfterieldo 567.
 æfterlēan 567.
 æfterlic 567.
 æfterra 446, 447.
 æftersprecan 14.
 æfterweard 567, 637.
 æfþanc 566.
 æfweard 566.
 æg 275, 420.
 ægen (āgen) 442, 546.
 ægerfelma 619.
 ægergeolu 619.
 æghwā 471.
 æghwær 558.
 æghwæs 557.
 æghwæper 471.
 æghwanon 558.
 æghwelc (æghwile),
 471.
 æghwider 558.
 ægilde 565.
 ægsciell 619.
 ægþer 560.
 æhher 70, 255, 329.
 æht 134, 390.
 æhtspēdig 640.
 æl 119, 335.
 ælan 530.
 ælc 471.
 æled 340.
 ælfremede 640.
 ælfsciene 640.
 ælmesse 404.
 æltæwe 434.
 æmenne 565.
 æmōd 565.
 æne 454.
 ænge þinga 557.
 ænig 47, 134, 324, 471.
 ænlic 634.
 æppel (æpl), 54, 57,
 219, 255, 276, 397.
 æppelbære 434, 622.
 æppeltūn 78.
 æppelwīn 617.
 ær 134, 445, 556, 559.
 æra 401.
 ærboren 640.
 ærende 357.
 ærendfæst 627.
 ærendian 643.
 ærendra 401.
 ærest(a) 445, 447.
 æring 373.
 ærist 387.
 ærn 66, 280.
 ærnan 60, 530, 643.
 ærning 615.
 æs 119, 240.
 æsc 56, 387.
 æschora 596.
 æsce 57.
 æsce 404.
 æscen 625.
 æsp 306, 367.

- æspe 56.
 æt 54, 211, 559.
 æt- 645.
 ætforan 557, 559.
 ætgdædere 58, 260, 557.
 æthindan 557.
 æthwā 471.
 æt-hwōn 557.
 ætiewan 14.
 æt-nīehstan 557.
 ætniman 14.
 æt-rihte 557.
 ætsamne 557.
 æt(t)ren 431.
 ætwitan 490.
 æpelcund 11, 426, 623.
 æpele 10, 58, 155, 221, 434, 607.
 æpeling 10, 58, 155, 339, 607.
 æpelnas 609.
 æþm 119, 219, 282, 563.
 æw 134, 266, 390.
 æwēne 565.
 æx 311, 376.
 āfæstnian 646.
 āfaran 646.
 āfierran 99, 259, 278, 530.
 āfirran 99.
 āfliegan 530.
 āflieman 646.
 āfrēfran 646.
 āfyrhtan 530.
 āgan 133, 320, 546.
 āgen 133, 431.
 āgend 418.
 āgiefan 646.
 āglæca 401.
 āgyltan 530.
 āhēawan 646.
 āhnēapan 518.
 āht 471.
 āhwā 471.
 āhwær 558.
 āhwæper 471.
 āhwanon 558.
 āhyþan 530.
 alan 57, 508.
 albe 64.
 alædan 646.
 alætan 646.
 alibban 646.
 alibbende 564.
 aliefan 530.
 aliefednes 11.
 aliehtan 646.
 aliesan 646.
 alter 64.
 āmerian 525.
 ampre 404.
 an 579.
 an- 568.
 ān 5, 30, 133, 161, 447, 471.
 anbrucol 568.
 anclēow 363.
 ancor 59.
 and 560.
 and- 569, 654.
 anda 401.
 andcwis(s) 569.
 andfenge 434, 569, 621.
 andgiæt 10, 569.
 andgiætfull 629.
 andgiætlēas 613.
 andgiætōl 569, 635.
 andig 630.
 andlang 559, 569.
 andlanges 559.
 andrysne 434.
 andsaca 10, 401, 569.
 andswarian 14.
 andswaru 14, 569.
 andswerian 525, 643.
 andweald 569.
 andweard 569, 637.
 andwlita 569.
 andwraþ 569.
 andwyrðan 14, 530, 643.
 andwyrde 14, 569.
 ānfeald 426, 453, 628.
 anfilte 568.
 anforht 568.
 anga 401.
 angbrēost 617.
 ange 553.
 angel 340.
 anginn 568.
 angsum (ancsum) 318, 425, 636.
 ānhaga 617.
 ānliepe 434.
 ān-, ānliepige, 456.
 ānlic 425, 634.
 ansien 390, 568.
 ānstreces 557.
 ānsum 636.
 ansund 568, 621.
 anweald 568.
 apa 57, 401.
 ār (*brass*) 28, 343.
 ār (*oar*) 133.
 ār (*messenger*) 395.
 ār (*honour*) 365, 367.
 āræran 646.
 ar(e)we 404.
 ārfæst 11, 426, 627.
 ārian 536, 643.
 ārīsan 239, 288, 491, 646.
 ārlēas 426, 633.
 ārstafas 612.
 asce (axe) 57, 312, 404.
 āscian 133, 312, 536.
 āscūfan 646.
 āscung 615.
 āseolcan 84, 500.
 assa 57, 306, 401.
 asse 404.
 āstiepan 531.
 āstigan 646.
 āswebban 526.
 āswefecian 536.
 atol 430.
 atollic (atelic) 259.
 ātor (ātr) 133, 219, 260, 348.
 ātorbære 622.
 ātreddan 527.
 -aþ 595.
 āþ 133, 261, 301, 302, 335.
 āþencan 10.
 āþexe 404.
 āþl (ādī, āld) 304.
 āþrēotan 493.

- āþum 340.
 awel (awul) 74, 264.
 āwer 558.
 āwēstan 530.
 āwierdan 239, 530.
 āwiht (-wuht) 133, 471,
 557.
 āwper 471.
 āwunigende 564.
 āwyrġan 530.
 āxian 7, 312.

 bā 133, 450.
 bacan 57, 128, 310, 508.
 bād 367.
 bæc 54, 292, 310, 345.
 bæcere 354, 602.
 bæcestre 404, 603.
 bæcling 557.
 bæcslitol 640.
 bædan 530.
 bæftan 559.
 bæł 343.
 bæłfyr 617.
 bær 425.
 bær 119, 225, 367, 562.
 -bære 622.
 bærnān 60, 280, 530,
 643.
 bærnēt(t) 358, 604.
 bærs 280.
 bæst 335.
 bætan 531.
 bæp 7, 54, 57, 292,
 301, 302, 345.
 balu 64.
 bān 5, 133, 285, 292,
 343, 562.
 bana 59, 401.
 bāncōfa 617.
 bāngār 618.
 bānlēas 633.
 bannan 515.
 bār 133, 335.
 basu (beasu) 436.
 bāt 133, 335.
 bāpian 7, 57, 302, 643.
 be 559.
 be- 570, 647.

 bēacen (bēacn) 135,
 163, 219, 348.
 beadocræft 618.
 beadocræftig 640.
 beadu 78, 220, 379,
 380.
 bēag 135, 323, 335.
 bēah 262.
 bealcet(t) 604.
 beald 303, 426, 620.
 bealdor 340.
 bealg 323.
 bealofull 629.
 bealopanc 618.
 bealu 64, 215, 220, 264,
 265, 361, 362.
 bēam 282, 292, 335.
 bēan 135.
 beard 66, 335.
 beardlēas 633.
 bearg 66, 178.
 bearhtme 557.
 bearm 66, 335.
 bearn 49, 66, 343.
 bearu 66, 215, 220,
 264, 265, 359.
 bēatan 518.
 bēaw 360.
 bebod 12, 344, 563.
 bebreca 647.
 bebūgan 647.
 bebycgan 647.
 bebyrgan 647.
 bebyrgnes 12.
 becca 400.
 bēce 404.
 beclingan 647.
 beclýsing 563.
 becuman 14, 647.
 becweþan 647.
 bedd 47, 55, 156, 254,
 272, 274, 292, 355,
 356.
 bedecian 536.
 bedelfing 12, 563.
 bedol 430.
 bedrincan 647.
 befæstan 647.
 beforan 288, 559.

 begang 12, 563.
 begangan 10.
 bēgen 450.
 begeondan 559.
 begiemen 563.
 beginnan 59.
 behāt 12, 343, 563.
 behēafđian 647.
 behealdan 14, 647.
 behēawan 647.
 behēfe 12.
 behelian 647.
 beheonan 559.
 behindan 559.
 behionan 102.
 behlidan 490.
 behōfian 536.
 behyldan 530.
 belāf 12, 563.
 belāwan 647.
 belendan 647.
 belgan 80, 320, 499.
 belicgan 647.
 belifan 490.
 belimp 12, 563.
 belimpan 647.
 bellan 80, 499.
 belle 404.
 belūcan 647.
 bemurnan 647.
 bēn 390.
 bēna 401.
 benāman 530.
 benc 7, 47, 60, 156,
 289, 311, 390.
 bend 225, 376, 562.
 bendan 530.
 benēotan 647.
 beneoþan 559.
 benn 375.
 bēo 403, 405.
 bēod 137, 335.
 bēodan, 21, 32, 33, 43,
 106, 111, 135, 137,
 225, 226, 230, 253,
 292, 493.
 beofor 92, 293, 395.
 bēogol 431.
 bēon 474, 548.

- bēor 137, 343.
 beorc 367.
 beorcan 85, 500.
 beorg 85, 323, 335.
 beorgan 85, 320, 500.
 beorht 85, 426.
 beorhtrodor 617.
 beorma 401.
 beorn 335.
 beornan (biornan) 59,
 66, 98.
 bēorscipe 386, 611.
 bēot 325.
 bēow 265, 363.
 bepācan 534.
 bera 401.
 beran 10, 18, 41, 45, 48,
 54, 80, 93, 96, 106,
 119, 120, 155, 156,
 157, 162, 188, 196,
 200, 211, 212, 213,
 214, 215, 217, 218,
 219, 225, 226, 234,
 238, 247, 278, 288,
 292, 301, 475, 476,
 477, 478, 480, 481,
 482, 484, 486, 503.
 bere 55, 386, 419.
 berelāf 618.
 berian 525.
 berīpan 531.
 berige 404.
 berstan 66, 85, 280,
 476, 502.
 bescierian 525.
 bescitan 490.
 bes(e)ma 80, 282, 401.
 besingan 647.
 beslēan 647.
 besmītan 490.
 beswālan 647.
 beswīcend 418.
 beswicol 635.
 bet 55, 552, 556.
 bētan 129, 531.
 bēte 125, 298.
 beteldan 499.
 bet(e)ra 47, 54, 223,
 252, 260, 279, 445.
 bet(e)st(a) 223, 445,
 556.
 bettra 445.
 betuh 103, 266.
 betux 103.
 betweoh 559.
 betwēoh 127, 175.
 betweox 103, 559.
 betwih 103, 559.
 betwix 103, 559.
 betwuh 103, 184, 266,
 559.
 betwux 103.
 betwēonan 329.
 betwēonum 127, 329,
 456, 559.
 bepencan 647.
 bepringan 647.
 be ungewyrhtum 557.
 bewēpan 647.
 bewindan 647.
 bi 6, 559, 570.
 bi- 570, 647.
 bicce 404.
 bičwide 570.
 biđan 30, 126, 133, 305,
 490.
 biddan 96, 157, 254,
 272, 273, 299, 300,
 305, 475, 476, 478,
 484, 507.
 biddere 354.
 biđfæst 627.
 biēcnan 136, 532.
 biēg(e)an 7, 136, 320,
 530, 643.
 biēgung 615.
 bieldu, -o 383, 563.
 bieme 404.
 bierce 99, 184, 278.
 bierhtu 383.
 biernan (birnan, byr-
 nan) 98, 280, 498.
 biesting 607.
 biētel 340.
 bifian 536.
 bifylce 570.
 biġang 10.
 biġeng 12, 570.
 biġyrdel 570.
 bile 386.
 bileofa 570.
 bilibban 14.
 bill 356.
 bindan 5, 41, 43, 96, 111,
 157, 212, 213, 215,
 218, 225, 226, 230,
 234, 285, 288, 292,
 299, 300, 301, 475,
 476, 478, 481, 482,
 498.
 binde 404.
 binnan 288, 559.
 bīo (bēo) 104, 140, 269.
 bīon (bēon) 548.
 birce 311.
 biren 378.
 bisen (bīsn) 369.
 bismerfull 629.
 bišpell 6, 570.
 bištandan 14.
 bita 401.
 biťan 96, 101, 126, 133,
 161, 164, 226, 234,
 288, 292, 298, 305,
 490.
 bite 386, 562.
 bit(e)re 553.
 biternes 609.
 bit(t)er 96, 255, 431,
 639.
 biwist 570.
 biword 570.
 blāc 426.
 Blaca 421.
 blācung 615.
 blāc 54, 292, 310, 345,
 421, 425, 620.
 blācan 134.
 blācġim 617.
 blād 57, 345.
 blād 387, 563.
 blāddre 150.
 blādfæst 627.
 blādre 119, 150, 260,
 404.
 blāse 404.
 blāst 387.

- blāetan 119.
 blanca 401.
 blandan 513.
 blāwan 52, 120, 161,
 264, 292, 517.
 blēdan 129.
 blendan (*ww.*) 530.
 blēo (blēoh) 328.
 blētsian (bletsian) 300,
 536, 659.
 blīcan 490.
 bliccettan 259.
 blind 96, 217, 285, 292,
 423, 424, 426, 440.
 blindnes 609.
 bliss 150.
 blissian 536, 659.
 blipe 126, 434, 438, 553.
 blips (bliss) 150, 305,
 376.
 blipsian (blissian) 305,
 536, 659.
 blōd 128, 276, 292, 299,
 343.
 blōd(es)lās 381.
 blōdig 431.
 blōdrēad 640.
 blōstm 340.
 blōstma 401.
 blōtan 519.
 blōwan 128, 264, 519.
 blyscan 112, 312.
 bōc 5, 7, 47, 128, 129,
 163, 165, 194, 292,
 310, 311, 410, 411,
 562.
 bōccraeft 617.
 bōcere 354.
 bōc-trēow 23.
 boda 106, 401.
 bodian 536.
 bodig 106, 292, 299,
 324.
 bōg 323, 335.
 boga 7, 106, 256, 320,
 401, 562.
 bold (*adj.*) 106.
 bold (*sb.*) 277, 343.
 bola 401.
 bolster 340.
 bolt 106, 335.
 -bora 596.
 bord 106, 343.
 boren 430.
 borg 335.
 borggiēda 617.
 bōsm 7, 128, 219, 261,
 282, 307, 340.
 bōt 367.
 botl 277.
 botm 106, 219, 282,
 298, 340, 563.
 box 111.
 brād 133, 292, 426,
 443.
 brādbrim 617.
 brādan 134, 530, 643.
 brādel 598.
 brādo 563.
 brægden 431.
 brægen 349.
 brær 119.
 bræs 54, 345.
 bræsen 430, 625.
 bræp 335.
 brand 59, 335.
 brastlian 57, 153.
 brēad 135.
 brēadru 420.
 brecan 54, 80, 106, 292,
 309, 505.
 brēdan 80, 146, 163,
 320.
 bregdan 54, 80, 106,
 146, 163, 321, 502.
 bregu, -o 48, 92, 199,
 396.
 brēme 434, 553.
 brēmel 122, 340.
 brēost 343.
 brēotan 493.
 brēowan 264, 493.
 brēowlāc 608.
 bridd 96, 352.
 bridel 96, 146, 164.
 bridels 277, 321, 339,
 598.
 brigdel 96, 146, 164.
 brigdels 321.
 brim 344.
 brimceald 640.
 bringan 96, 117, 165,
 240, 278, 289, 292,
 317, 318, 326, 488,
 534.
 brīw 360.
 broc 344.
 brōc 128, 411.
 brocc 310.
 brocung 615.
 brōd 128, 367.
 brōga 401.
 brōm 121, 282, 335.
 brop 106, 301, 344.
 brōpor 5, 7, 23, 128,
 129, 165, 218, 231,
 234, 261, 302, 415,
 563.
 brōporsunu 617.
 brū 131, 367.
 brūcan 47, 131, 132,
 135, 167, 496.
 brūn 131, 426.
 brūnecg 641.
 brūnfāg 640.
 bryce (*adj.*) 112.
 bryce (*sb.*) 309, 386,
 438, 562.
 brȳce 434, 438.
 brycg 5, 7, 112, 254,
 259, 292, 319, 375.
 brȳd 5, 132, 167, 299,
 390.
 brȳdguma 11, 13, 617.
 brȳdlāc 608.
 brygd 387.
 bryne 386, 562.
 brynehāt 11, 640.
 brytta 400.
 bū 130, 450.
 būan 131, 538.
 būc 335.
 bucc 108, 159, 243,
 259, 310, 335.
 bucca 7, 108, 256, 258,
 309, 310, 401.
 bufan 559.

- būgan 131, 320, 496.
 bulluc 340.
 bunden 431.
 burg (burh) 111, 220,
 262, 278, 323, 411,
 562.
 burgscipe 611.
 burne 404.
 būtan 559.
 bütū 450.
 bȳa 538.
 bycgan 43, 47, 106,
 112, 160, 240, 319,
 326, 534.
 bydel 225, 341, 563.
 byden 216, 369.
 byge 320, 386.
 byht 387.
 bylda 401.
 byrd 112.
 byre 225, 386, 562.
 byrga (byriga) 220, 401.
 byrgan 530.
 byrgels 277, 598.
 byrgen 378.
 byrian 525.
 byrne 404.
 byrst 387.
 byrþen(n) 302, 377,
 378.
 byrþenmælum 557.
 bysig 183, 430.
 bytlan 532.
 bytt 375.
 cæg 275, 376, 562.
 cægbora 596.
 cærse 280.
 cāfe 553.
 cāfscipe 611.
 calan 57, 225, 508.
 calu 436.
 camb 50, 59, 234, 292,
 310, 335.
 cambiht 631.
 camp 59, 310.
 campdōm 597.
 camphād 605.
 campstede 617.
 candel 59, 310, 378.
 cann 59.
 canne 404.
 carcern 66.
 cargāst 618.
 carlēas 633.
 caru 57, 366.
 cāsering 607.
 cassuc 57, 340.
 catte 57, 153.
 cēac 335.
 cēace 51, 124, 188,
 404.
 ceaf 7, 51, 72, 295,
 296, 311, 344.
 cēafl 261, 296.
 ceafor 72, 296, 311.
 cealc 64, 311.
 ceald, 49, 64, 72, 168,
 176, 232, 299, 311,
 426, 620.
 cealf 64, 72, 294, 311,
 420.
 cēap 135, 335.
 cēapian 135, 163, 311,
 536.
 cēapung 615.
 cearu 278.
 ceaster 51, 72, 168,
 179, 183, 370.
 cēlan 7, 129, 310, 530,
 643.
 cēlnes 609.
 cemban 60, 310, 530.
 cempa 60, 310.
 cempestre 603.
 cēn 125.
 cēne 310, 434.
 cennan 310, 530.
 centisc 632.
 cēo 405.
 cēol 335.
 ceole 53, 404.
 ceorfan 66, 85, 91, 311,
 500.
 ceorian 536.
 ceorl 85, 91, 311, 335.
 cēosan 5, 7, 32, 44, 47,
 106, 111, 135, 137,
 138, 158, 159, 172,
 173, 174, 215, 226,
 232, 239, 252, 279,
 305, 306, 307, 309,
 311, 472, 475, 482,
 484, 486, 494.
 cēowan 264, 311, 493.
 cēpan 310, 531.
 cīcen 138.
 cīdan 311.
 cīecen 192.
 cīefes 73, 369.
 cīegan 270, 530.
 cīeldo 563.
 cīele 51, 73, 170, 181,
 386.
 cīepan 136, 531.
 cīeres(cires) 51, 91, 170.
 cīerm 387.
 cīerr 387.
 cīerran 67, 311, 530.
 cīese 7, 47, 124, 311.
 cīetel 73.
 cīld 96, 311, 420, 562.
 cīldhād 605.
 cīldisc 431, 632.
 cīldlic 634.
 cīnan 490.
 cīnn 7, 96, 242, 259,
 285, 311, 398, 403.
 cīpe 125, 164.
 cīrichbōc 618.
 cīrice (circe) 223, 311,
 404.
 clæg 275.
 clāne 5, 134, 191, 276,
 285, 310, 434, 438,
 553.
 clānheort 641.
 clāennes 609.
 clānsian 286, 536, 659.
 clām 335.
 clāp 133, 301, 335.
 clawu 266, 379.
 clēa 74, 75, 140, 153,
 172, 266, 379.
 cleofa 401.
 clēofan 135, 137, 493.
 clīewen 350, 600.

- clif 96, 101, 344.
 clifan 490.
 clifian 536.
 climban 282, 292, 310, 498.
 clingan 498.
 cliopian (cleopian) 101.
 cliopung 48, 101, 171.
 clipian 101, 536.
 cliwen 350.
 clūd 131.
 clugge 404.
 clūt 131, 335.
 clynian 526.
 clynnan 526.
 clyppan 112, 291, 530.
 clȳwen 600.
 cnæpling 339, 607.
 cnafa 256, 293.
 cnapa 401.
 cnāwan 5, 52, 120, 161, 162, 264, 266, 517.
 cnedan 80, 505.
 cnēo (cnēow) 5, 7, 52, 88, 89, 140, 169, 173, 232, 264, 265, 266, 285, 310, 361, 363.
 cneoh̄t 49, 86, 169, 182.
 cnēoris(s) 378.
 cnīdan 490.
 cnieht (cniht) 5, 86, 157, 326, 335.
 cnihthād 605.
 cnocian 108.
 cnoll 335.
 cnōsl 348.
 cnotta 43, 106, 243, 256, 298, 310, 401.
 cnucian 108.
 cnyll 352.
 cnyssan 526.
 cnyttan 43, 112, 527.
 cnyttels 598.
 cōc 310.
 cocc 106, 335.
 cocer 339.
 codd 335.
 cofa 401.
 cofincel 358, 606.
 col 5, 106, 276, 344.
 cōl 128, 225, 276, 310, 426.
 cōlnes(s) 378.
 colt 106.
 copor 111, 255, 310.
 coppede 434, 624.
 cops 306.
 coren 5, 430.
 corn 43, 106, 310, 343.
 cornhūs 11, 617.
 cosp 306.
 coss 43, 106, 259, 310, 335.
 costere 602.
 costian 536.
 costung 615.
 coþu 366.
 crabba 401.
 cradol 57, 341.
 cræft 54, 295, 310, 335.
 cræftig 431, 630.
 cræftlice 553.
 cræt 345.
 crāwan 120, 264, 517.
 crāwe 404.
 crēda 125.
 crēopan 137, 278, 493.
 crēopere 602.
 cribb 96, 254, 292, 375.
 crimman 498.
 crincan 498.
 cringan 498.
 crīsten 431.
 crohha 326.
 cropp 335.
 croppiht 631.
 cruma 401.
 crycc 7, 112, 254, 272, 311, 375.
 cū 5, 47, 130, 166, 266, 310, 411.
 cucu 266.
 cudu 266.
 cūhierde 617.
 cuma 401, 562.
 cuman 109, 121, 232, 282, 288, 310, 488, 504.
 -cund, 623.
 cunnan 113, 542.
 cunnian 536.
 cuppe 291, 310, 404.
 cūslyppe (cūsloppe) 404.
 cūþ 50, 113, 147, 166, 286, 301, 310, 426.
 cūþe 553.
 cwalu 225, 366, 562.
 cwealm 335.
 cwealmbære 622.
 cweccan 534.
 cwelan 225, 503.
 cwellan 52, 55, 186, 534, 643.
 cweþman, 122.
 cwēn 5, 47, 122, 163, 263, 285, 310, 389, 390.
 cwene 80, 156, 232, 404.
 cweorn 398.
 cweþan 52, 54, 80, 119, 162, 186, 225, 226, 239, 240, 263, 299, 301, 302, 305, 476, 484, 505.
 cwiçæht 617.
 cwician 103.
 cwic(u) 42, 103, 232, 439.
 cwīde 96, 225, 239, 386.
 cwidegiedd 618.
 cwidelēas 633.
 cwielman 530, 643.
 cwīþan 530.
 cwucian 103.
 c(w)ucu 103, 184, 266, 439.
 c(w)udu 103, 266, 362.
 cȳcen 600.
 cycene 310.
 cycgel 319.
 cȳf 390.
 cylen 112.
 cylu 436.
 cyme 112, 386, 562.

- cȳme 434.
 cymen 442.
 cynde 434.
 cyneboren 640.
 cynedōm 597.
 cynegōd 640.
 cynelic 634.
 cynerice 618.
 cynig 290.
 cyning 5, 7, 10, 47, 112,
 157, 160, 212, 221,
 290, 310, 317, 338,
 339, 607.
 cyn(n) 7, 47, 112, 157,
 254, 272, 274, 310,
 355, 356.
 cyre 112, 239, 334, 386,
 562.
 cymel 43, 112.
 cyspan 531.
 cyssan 7, 43, 112, 258,
 259, 300, 306, 310,
 476, 528, 530, 643.
 cyst 112, 390, 563.
 cystig 630.
 cȳta 400.
 cȳpan 47, 114, 167,
 286, 305, 310, 528,
 530, 643.
 cȳpp(u) 372.
 dā 133.
 dǣd 5, 24, 119, 162,
 188, 234, 299, 390,
 563.
 dǣdcēne 640.
 dæg 5, 10, 54, 57, 78,
 153, 155, 180, 183,
 211, 212, 215, 217,
 218, 234, 252, 284,
 299, 320, 324, 331,
 334, 336, 557.
 dāgesēage 619.
 dæg-hwām 557.
 dæglanges 557.
 dæglic 634.
 dæg-tidum 557.
 dæl, 54, 345, 562.
 dæl 134, 331, 387.
 dǣlan 47, 134, 162,
 221, 272, 530.
 dǣlmǣlum 557.
 dāg 133, 299, 323.
 dagian 57, 320.
 dāh 7, 262.
 daroþ 341.
 daru 366.
 dēad 135, 239, 299,
 426.
 dēadlic 151, 634.
 dēaf 135, 294, 299,
 426.
 dēagol 431, 639.
 dearnunga, -inga 554.
 dear(r) 66, 542.
 dēap 5, 135, 172, 239,
 299, 301, 395.
 dēapfæge 640.
 dēapstede 11.
 dēaw 76, 172, 265, 360.
 dēawig 630.
 delfan 64, 80, 111, 293,
 294, 499.
 dēma 400.
 dēman 5, 47, 129, 163,
 272, 299, 529, 643.
 Dene 385, 386.
 denisc 632.
 denn 356.
 denu 80, 366.
 dēofol (diōfol), 104,
 223, 293, 299, 340.
 dēofolcund 623.
 dēop 5, 44, 137, 150,
 173, 208, 209, 232,
 260, 291, 299, 426,
 553, 620.
 dēope 553.
 dēoppāncol 640.
 dēor 137, 208, 209, 252,
 279, 343, 562.
 deorc 85, 182, 299, 426.
 deorcung 615.
 dēore 138.
 deorfān, 500.
 dēorling 138, 607.
 derian 525.
 dīedan 530.
 dīeglan 221, 528, 532.
 diegol 221, 431, 639.
 diepe 44.
 diere (diore, dēore) 138,
 209, 210, 434.
 dierling 174.
 dierne 67, 170, 181,
 434.
 dimhūs 617.
 disc 96.
 docce 404.
 dōeg 419.
 dogga 7, 106, 319, 401.
 dōgor 419.
 dohtor 5, 7, 43, 45, 47,
 106, 107, 156, 158,
 186, 234, 299, 326,
 415.
 dol 425.
 dollice 553.
 dōm 26, 128, 335, 597.
 -dōm 597.
 dōmdæg 617.
 dōmgeorn 640.
 dōn 121, 128, 142, 299,
 549.
 dor 106, 344.
 dora 401.
 draca 78, 180, 256,
 310.
 drǣfan 134, 530.
 dragan 57, 299, 320,
 508.
 drēam 135, 278, 335.
 drēamere 602.
 dreccan 534.
 drēfan 129, 530.
 drenc 225, 387, 562.
 drencan 60, 289, 311,
 529, 643.
 drēogan 493.
 drēopan 493.
 drēorigmōd 641.
 drēorignes 609.
 drēosan 137, 239, 494.
 drepan 505.
 drepe 386.
 drieman 136.
 driēpan 136, 531.

- drifan 101, 126, 133,
 293, 299, 490.
 drincan 7, 59, 96, 111,
 225, 289, 299, 310,
 498.
 drincere 602.
 drohtap̃ 595.
 drohtnian 595.
 dropa 106, 256, 401.
 dropmælum 557.
 drūgop̃ 595.
 druncen 225.
 druncengeorn 640.
 drȳ 142, 388.
 drȳgan 530.
 drȳge 434.
 dryht 390.
 dryhten 288, 340, 563.
 dryhtscipe 611.
 drync 112.
 dryre 239, 386.
 dūce 404.
 dūfan 299, 496.
 dūgan 482, 541.
 dugup̃ 218, 286, 320,
 390.
 dumb 111, 159, 282,
 292, 299, 426.
 dung 411.
 dūnlendisc 640.
 dunn 426.
 *durran 279.
 durren 36.
 duru 5, 7, 21, 111, 234,
 278, 299, 398.
 duruweard 618.
 dūst 113, 286, 298, 343.
 dūwscan 56.
 dwellan 263, 299, 534.
 dweorg 85, 182, 263,
 335.
 dwīnan 490.
 dwolian 536.
 dwolma 401.
 dyne 386.
 dyn(n) 352.
 dynnan 526.
 dynt 387.
 dyppan 112.
 dyrstlācan 658.
 dysig 112, 324.
 dysigian 536.
 dȳstig 47, 114.
 ēa 17, 70, 172, 246,
 329.
 ēac 135, 187, 559, 560.
 ēacen 232, 431.
 ēacian 31.
 ēadig 135, 431, 443.
 ēadignes 609.
 eafora 78, 401.
 ēage 135, 163, 172,
 211, 217, 320, 406,
 407.
 ēagor 419.
 eahta 5, 7, 20, 49, 68,
 168, 177, 217, 231,
 326, 447.
 eahtatēopa 447.
 eahtatiene 447.
 eahtian 536.
 eahtopa 447.
 eald 5, 47, 64, 65, 170,
 178, 183, 221, 279,
 303, 426, 443, 444,
 620.
 ealdlic 634.
 ealdor 340.
 ealdordōm 597.
 ealdormann 617.
 ealdspræc 617.
 Ealdulfin 607.
 ealh 64, 337.
 eall 5, 7, 64, 168,
 259, 276, 421, 426,
 557.
 eallgōd 640.
 eal(l)māest 15, 557.
 eall tela 557.
 eallunga, -inga 554.
 eallwealdende 640.
 ealneg (ealne weg) 15,
 267, 557.
 ealswā 15, 560.
 ealu 78, 276, 414.
 ēam 329.
 eappultūn 78.
 ēar 70, 139, 255, 329,
 419.
 earc 66, 178.
 eard 397.
 eardian 536.
 ēare 31, 135, 238, 279,
 407.
 earfoþ, 431.
 earg 426.
 earge 553.
 earm (sb.) 5, 7, 66, 278,
 335.
 earm (adj.) 66, 426,
 443, 444, 620.
 earmbeāg 617.
 earmes 553, 555.
 earn 335.
 earnian 536.
 eart (*thou art*) 66.
 ēarwicga 256, 319, 618.
 ēast 135, 446, 558.
 ēastan 558.
 ēasterne 626.
 ēastnorþ 557.
 ēastron 250.
 ēaþ 557.
 ēaþe 556.
 ēaþmēdan 530.
 ēawunga 554.
 eax 68, 367.
 eaxl 68, 367.
 ebba 256, 292.
 ēce 434, 553.
 ecg 375.
 ecgheard 640.
 ed- 571, 648.
 edbyrdan 648.
 edcierr 571.
 -ede 624.
 edgeong 571, 621.
 edgield 571.
 edgieldan 648.
 edgift 571.
 edgrōwung 571.
 edhiertan 648.
 edlācan 648.
 edlāstan 648.
 edlēan 571.
 edniwe 571.

- edniwunga 554.
 edor 92, 198.
 edroc 571.
 edstapelian 648.
 edwierpan 648.
 edwīt 571.
 ef(e)n (emn) 80, 81, 219,
 293, 430, 639.
 efeneald 640.
 efenlæcan 658.
 efes 107.
 efesian 536.
 efnan 56, 532.
 eflan 530.
 eft 56.
 eftcierran 14.
 eftcyme 617.
 eftflōwan 14.
 ege 55, 320, 386, 419.
 egenu 369.
 eg(e)sian 536, 659.
 egfan 320, 528, 532.
 egle 434, 439.
 ehtan 47, 118, 163, 530.
 ehtend 418.
 -el 639.
 elboga (elnboga) 287.
 ele 5, 47, 107, 156, 186,
 386.
 elebēam 618.
 ellen 340.
 ellenrōf 640.
 elles 55, 557.
 ellorūs 640.
 ellorsīþ 617.
 elne 557.
 -els 598.
 embren 600.
 emn 81, 293.
 emnet 604.
 -en 599, 600, 625, 639.
 -end 601.
 ende 5, 47, 60, 156,
 274, 351, 354, 562.
 endebyrdes 557.
 endelāf 618.
 endemes 557.
 endian 536.
 en(d)le(o)fan 447.
 en(d)le(o)fta 447.
 ened 60.
 enge 60, 234, 289, 553.
 engel 221, 289, 338,
 340.
 Englaland 619.
 Engle 385.
 englisc 60, 218, 289,
 312, 317, 632.
 engu 383.
 enlefan 151.
 ent 387.
 entisc 632.
 ēo (ēoh) 328.
 ēode 275.
 eodor 92, 198, 341.
 eofor 48, 92, 169, 341.
 eofot 325.
 eoh 86, 337.
 eolh 7, 84, 149, 173,
 182, 328, 329, 337.
 eom (eam) 548.
 eorl 85, 335.
 eorlcund 623.
 eorlisc 632.
 eornan (iornan) 58.
 eornostlice 553.
 ēorod 13, 151, 329.
 eorpcund 623.
 eorpe 7, 49, 85, 169,
 196, 205, 261, 278,
 302, 404.
 eorpfæst 627.
 eosol 92.
 ēow (īow, īw) 360, 460,
 462.
 eowde 77.
 ēower (īower) 460, 464.
 eowestre 52, 77, 169,
 264.
 ēowic (īowih, īwih) 311,
 460, 462.
 -er 639.
 -ere 602.
 erian 525.
 -erne 626.
 -(e)sian 659.
 esne 56, 354.
 esol 48, 92, 198, 395.
 ēst 47, 62, 286, 331,
 390.
 ēste 434.
 -estre 603.
 etan 5, 18, 24, 48, 80,
 93, 96, 119, 196, 200,
 232, 240, 298, 305,
 472, 476, 505.
 etere 602.
 etol 430, 635.
 -ettan 657.
 ēþel 223.
 eþpa 217, 301.
 ewe (eowe, eowu) 77,
 264.
 fācen 348.
 fācenstafas 612.
 fācne 557.
 fāc 345.
 fācele 404.
 fācne 433, 434, 553.
 fæder 5, 7, 22, 36, 41,
 54, 155, 183, 211,
 215, 218, 238, 253,
 278, 295, 299, 415,
 563.
 fæder(e)nmæg 617.
 fæderlēas 633.
 fæderslaga 617.
 fāge 434.
 fāgen 320, 430, 443,
 444, 639.
 fæg(e)nian 223, 536,
 643.
 fāger 7, 54, 259, 295,
 320, 430, 443, 639.
 fāhþ(u) 372.
 fær 345.
 færunga 554.
 fæst 54, 295, 298.
 -fæst 627.
 fæstan 5, 56, 528, 530.
 fæsten(n) 58, 259, 358,
 600.
 fæstmōd 641.
 fæstnes 609.
 fæstnian 298, 536.
 fæstræd 640.

- fæst 48, 54, 78, 197, 215,
 295, 342, 345.
 fæstels 221, 277, 339,
 598.
 fæþm 7, 54, 155, 302,
 340.
 fāgettan 221.
 fāh 428.
 fals 64.
 falu 64.
 fām 343.
 fana 59, 401.
 fandian 536.
 faran 48, 54, 55, 57,
 58, 78, 128, 153, 165,
 197, 225, 226, 278,
 475, 476, 482, 484,
 508.
 faru 366, 562.
 faþe 404.
 fēa 75, 266, 295.
 -feald 628.
 fealdan 64, 303, 516,
 628.
 feallan 64, 65, 176, 233,
 258, 259, 276, 295,
 303, 475, 476, 484,
 516.
 fealu 64, 436.
 fearh 66, 172, 178, 329,
 337.
 fearn 343.
 fēawe 437.
 feax 68, 177, 327, 343.
 fēdan 5, 129, 240, 530,
 643.
 fēfor 293.
 fēgan 530.
 fela (teola) 48, 80, 93,
 200, 215, 399, 557.
 felafeald 628.
 fēlan 129.
 felasynnig 640.
 felawyrðnes 618.
 feld 41, 80, 276, 295,
 303, 395, 397, 562.
 feldhūs 617.
 fell 5, 18, 80, 343.
 fellen 625.
 feng 239, 317, 387.
 fēog(e)an 270, 537.
 feoh 86, 87, 139, 173,
 182, 215, 231, 328,
 329, 346, 399.
 feohstrang 640.
 feoht 562.
 feohtan 68, 86, 99, 106,
 111, 169, 170, 295,
 298, 326, 500.
 feohtlāc 608.
 fēol (fiol) 41, 127, 329,
 367.
 fēolan 84, 173, 329,
 501.
 fēond (fiond) 104, 105,
 140, 174, 175, 269,
 417, 601.
 fēondscipe 611.
 feorh 7, 85, 149, 173,
 182, 278, 328, 329,
 395.
 feorr 85, 259, 426, 443,
 444, 556, 558.
 feorran 258, 278, 288,
 558.
 feorrkund 623.
 fēorþling 607.
 feotor 92.
 fēower 237, 295, 447.
 fēowerfeald 453.
 fēowerfēte 434.
 fēowergielð 11, 13, 617.
 fēowertēopa 447.
 fēowertiene 447.
 fēowertig 447.
 fēowertigopa 447.
 fēo(we)rþa 447.
 fer- 649.
 fēran 530.
 ferian 525.
 fersc 85, 280.
 fetor (feter) 80, 92, 369.
 fēpa 401.
 fēpe 62, 357.
 feþer 41, 80, 295, 302,
 369.
 feþerbære 622.
 ficol 310.
 fiell 387.
 fiellan 47, 65, 170, 178,
 530, 643.
 fierd 225, 390, 563.
 fierdleoþ 617.
 fierr 556.
 fierst 280, 387.
 fif 5, 41, 50, 97, 147,
 213, 237, 283, 295,
 447.
 fifel 97.
 fifta 447.
 fiftēopa 447.
 fiftiene 447.
 fiftig 447.
 fiftigopa 447.
 filde 434.
 filmen 600.
 finc 289.
 findan 59, 96, 111, 239,
 295, 300, 488, 498.
 finger 96, 219, 289, 317,
 340, 563.
 finiht 631.
 firen 368, 369.
 fir(e)num 557.
 fisc 5, 7, 19, 96, 231,
 312, 335.
 fiscnoþ 595.
 fiscop 395, 595.
 fiþele 404.
 fiþere 41.
 flā 405.
 flacor 430.
 flāsc 134, 295, 312,
 393, 419.
 flāscen 625.
 flāschama 617.
 flāh 346, 428.
 flasce (flaxe) 57.
 flēa 402.
 flēa(h) 135.
 flēam 225, 335.
 flēan 70, 239, 329, 509.
 fleax 68, 295, 327, 343.
 flēde 434.
 flēogan 111, 137, 189,
 295, 320, 323, 476,
 493.

- flēoge 320, 404, 562.
 flēon 225, 239, 276,
 329, 495.
 flēos 137.
 flēotan 493.
 flētt 356.
 flicce 311, 357.
 flīema 401.
 flīeman 530, 643.
 flīes 393, 419.
 flīete 404.
 flītan 490.
 flītmælum 557.
 flōcan 519.
 flocc 310.
 floccmælum 557.
 flōd 26, 128, 231, 238,
 395.
 flōr 398.
 flota 401, 562.
 flōwan 128, 264, 519.
 flugol 430.
 flyge 386.
 flyht (flīht) 7, 112, 157,
 225, 326, 387, 563.
 fnæd 345.
 fnæs 345.
 fōda 128, 295.
 fōdor 260, 299, 3 8,
 563.
 fola 106, 288, 401.
 folc 7, 106, 276, 295,
 310, 343, 562.
 folcisc 632.
 folcmære 640.
 folctoga 617.
 folde 404.
 folgere 602.
 folgian 106, 276, 295,
 320, 536, 538.
 fōn 40, 47, 117, 118,
 125, 139, 163, 165,
 194, 239, 245, 326,
 329, 475, 514.
 for 559.
 for- 649.
 foran 558.
 forbēodan 14, 649.
 forbod 12, 563.
 forbrecan 649.
 forbryttan 649.
 forcierran 649.
 forcweþan 649.
 ford 397.
 fordælan 649.
 fordēman 649.
 fordōn 649.
 fordrīfan 649.
 fore 217, 445, 446, 558,
 559, 572.
 fore- 572.
 forealdian 649.
 forebēacen 572.
 foreduru 572.
 forengan 14.
 foregisl 572.
 forehālig 572.
 foremære 572.
 forescēawian 14.
 forespreca 572.
 foreþanc 572.
 forfaran 649.
 forfōn 649.
 forgān 649.
 forgiefan 14, 649.
 forgiefennes 259.
 forgieldan 649.
 forgīeman 649.
 forgietan 72, 91, 124,
 505.
 forgietol 12.
 forglendran 532.
 forhabban 649.
 forhæfednes 12, 563.
 forherigan 649.
 forhogian 649.
 forht 426.
 forhtfull 629.
 forhtlic 634.
 for hwon 557.
 forlācan 649.
 forlædan 649.
 forlēosan 239, 305, 494,
 649.
 forlor 12, 563.
 forlorennes 12, 259.
 forma 446, 447.
 formeltan 649.
 formest(a) 447.
 forniman 649.
 forod 430, 639.
 forrædan 649.
 forsc 280, 335.
 forscrifan 649.
 forsendan 649.
 forseon 649.
 forslæwan 533.
 forst 106, 280, 335.
 forswerian 649.
 forþ 558.
 for þæm (þām) 560.
 forþenge 434.
 for þon 560.
 forþweard 637.
 for þy 560.
 forweard 557.
 forweorþan 649.
 forwyrca 649.
 forwyrd 12, 563, 649.
 fōstor 240.
 fōstorling 607.
 fōt 7, 26, 41, 47, 128,
 129, 163, 194, 211,
 213, 215, 217, 218,
 231, 232, 295, 298,
 331, 408, 409, 562.
 fōtmælum 557.
 fox 43, 106, 327, 335.
 fracodscipe 611.
 (racuþ (-oþ) 218, 286,
 430.
 frætwan 264.
 frætwe 290, 380.
 fram 225, 425, 559, 573.
 fram- 573.
 framcyme 573.
 framlād 573.
 framsiþ 573.
 framweard 573.
 frēa 400, 402.
 frec 425.
 freca 401.
 frēcne 434, 553.
 frēfran 221, 532.
 frem(e)de 434.
 fremman 60, 221, 254,
 273, 282, 524, 526.

- fremsum 636.
 frēo (frīo) 104, 269,
 278, 295, 328, 434.
 frēo (*sb.*) 275.
 frēobearn 617.
 frēodōm 597.
 frēog(e)an 270, 537.
 frēols 325.
 frēomæg 11.
 frēond (frīond) 47, 104,
 105, 140, 174, 175,
 269, 285, 295, 299,
 416, 417, 601.
 frēondlice 553.
 frēondscipe 611.
 frēosan 106, 135, 137,
 295, 494.
 fretan 80, 505.
 frettol 431.
 fricgan 507.
 frīgea 270.
 frīg(e)dæg 275.
 frignan 96, 321, 502.
 frīnan 96, 321.
 frīþ 344.
 frīþgeorn 640.
 frīþsum 656.
 frōd 421, 426.
 Frōða 421.
 frōfor 221, 370.
 frogga 7, 106, 256, 258,
 319, 401.
 from 559.
 frum 425.
 fruma 401.
 frumbearn 618.
 fugelere 602.
 fugelnop 595.
 fugelop 595.
 fugol 7, 108, 159, 219
 276, 295, 320, 340,
 563.
 fūht, 43.
 fūl 27, 131, 276, 426.
 fulbētan 650.
 fuldōn 650.
 fulgān 650.
 full (*sb.*) 343.
 full (*adj.*) 5, 37, 108,
 159, 242, 259, 276,
 295, 426, 557, 620.
 ful(l)- 650.
 -full 629.
 fullæstan 650.
 fullberstan 650.
 fullbrecan 650.
 fullendian 650.
 fullfremman 650.
 fullfyllan 650.
 fullgrōwan 650.
 fullian 536, 643.
 fullþungen 650.
 fulluht 267, 391.
 fultrūwian 650.
 fultum 14.
 fultumian 10, 14.
 fulwiht 391.
 fulwihthād 605.
 fundian 536.
 furh 36, 115, 328, 411.
 furþor 108.
 furþra 445.
 furjum 108, 557.
 fūs 113, 286, 426.
 fylgan 220, 530.
 fylg(e)an 538.
 fylgestre 603.
 fyllan 112, 259, 272,
 276, 528, 530, 643.
 fyllu, -o 383, 563.
 fylstan 530.
 fylþ 613.
 fyr 132, 278, 295.
 fyrbære 622.
 fyren 625.
 fyrest(a) 445, 447.
 fyrhtan 112.
 fyrmest(a) 446, 447.
 fyren 426, 557.
 fyrs 387.
 fyrstig 630.
 fýsan 114, 530.
 fýst 132, 329, 390.
 fyþer-fete 237.
 fyxen 43, 112, 327, 378,
 599.
 gād (*goad*) 315, 367.
 gād (*want*) 215, 265.
 gad(e)rian 57, 222, 223,
 315.
 gaderung 223.
 gædeling 10, 58, 155,
 223, 339.
 gærs 66, 280, 306, 345.
 gærsgrēne 640.
 gæst 419.
 gæten 600, 625.
 gaffetung 57.
 gafol 225, 563.
 galan 57, 315, 508.
 galend 601.
 gamen 315, 349.
 gān 142, 550.
 gandra 59.
 gang 335, 562.
 gangan 59, 289, 515.
 gār 315, 397.
 gāra 401.
 gārþeam 617.
 gāst 7, 133, 298, 306,
 315, 335, 419.
 gāstcund 623.
 gāt 133, 134, 315, 411.
 ge 560.
 ge- 12, 574, 651.
 gē (ge, gte) 252, 268,
 460, 462.
 gēa 124.
 gēac 335.
 gēaccessure 619.
 geador 557.
 ge-ærnan 651.
 ge-æpele 12, 574.
 ge-āgnian 651.
 gealga 64, 288, 316,
 401.
 gealla 276, 401.
 gēanlæcan 658.
 gēapscipe 611.
 gēar 5, 51, 124, 172,
 188, 268, 343.
 gēara 557.
 gearcian 536.
 geard 66, 72, 316, 335.
 gēardagas 11.
 gēardagum 557.

- gēarlic 634.
 gearn 66, 72, 343.
 gearoþancol 640.
 gearowyrdig 11, 13.
 gearu 66, 220, 264, 265,
 316, 435, 436, 440,
 443, 444.
 gearwe 220, 264, 553.
 gearwian 66, 264, 536.
 ge-āscian 651.
 geat 5, 72, 78, 179, 183,
 315, 316, 344.
 geatwe 380.
 gebædan 651.
 gebæran 14, 651.
 geban(n) 12, 419, 563.
 gebed 12, 563.
 gebedda 574.
 gebelgan 651.
 gebēodan 651.
 gebeorc 343.
 gebeorgan 651.
 geberan 651.
 gebetan 651.
 gebierhtan 99, 184.
 gebindan 651.
 geblo̥t 563.
 gebod 225, 344.
 gebrec 563.
 gebrōþor (gebrōþru) 12,
 415, 574.
 gebyrd 225, 391, 563,
 574.
 gecēosan 651.
 gecnæwe 434.
 gecoren 12.
 gecwēme 122, 434, 438.
 gecynd 391.
 gecynde 12, 574, 621.
 gedæftan 530.
 gedafenian 536.
 gedēaw 437.
 gedēfe 12, 434, 438,
 553, 574.
 gedryhtu 391.
 gefā 402.
 gefaran 651.
 gefēa 402.
 gefēg 393.
 gefeoht 12, 563.
 gefēon 68, 87, 506.
 gefēra 12, 225, 401,
 574.
 gefēre 434.
 gefērræden 610.
 gefērsceipe 611.
 gefiend 417.
 gefilde 41, 96, 357.
 geflit 344.
 gefōg (gefōh) 419, 426,
 427.
 gefrēdan 530.
 gefriend 417.
 gefrignan 651.
 gefylce 357, 574.
 gefyrn 12, 557.
 gegad(e)rian 260.
 gegaderung 574.
 gegnum 557.
 gegnunga 554.
 gegrynd 393.
 gehāda 574.
 gehātan 14, 651.
 geheald 419.
 gehefagian 651.
 gehende 434, 553, 559.
 gehield 393.
 gehlæstan 530.
 gehlēow 437.
 gehlōw 363.
 gehlȳd 393.
 gehnæst 393.
 gehnāst 419.
 gehola 401.
 gehrēow 363.
 gehwā 471.
 gehwær 558.
 gehwæper 471.
 gehwæperes 557.
 gehwilec 471.
 gehycgan 651.
 gehygd 391.
 gehyrstan 530.
 gelēafa 135.
 gelēaffull 629.
 gelēafsum 636.
 gelic 12, 218, 260, 560,
 574, 634.
 gelice 553.
 geliefan 5, 47, 136, 174,
 188, 272, 530, 643,
 651.
 geligere (gelire) 322.
 gelimpan 282, 498, 651.
 gemæcca 55, 574.
 gemæne 12, 434, 438,
 574.
 gemænscipe 611.
 gemang 559.
 gemearcian 66.
 gemecca 55.
 gemengan 317.
 gemetan 651.
 gemiddlian 536.
 gemierce 357.
 gemiltsung 615.
 gemōt 574.
 gemynd 35, 112, 391.
 gemyndgian 536.
 gemyndig 12, 574.
 gemyne 438.
 genæme 434.
 geneahhe 68, 326.
 genēat 225.
 genesan 239, 505.
 genōg (genōh) 128,
 323, 421, 426, 427,
 557.
 genyht 393, 563.
 genyhtsum 636.
 gēo (gīo, iu) 268.
 geoc (gioc, iuc) 7, 43,
 51, 110, 211, 212,
 214, 232, 240, 268,
 309, 310, 334.
 geogup, -op (giogup,
 -op) 116, 218, 268,
 286, 390.
 geoguphād 605.
 gēol 255.
 geoloca 53, 92.
 geolu, -o 5, 53, 92, 220,
 316, 436, 620.
 geōmor 51, 121, 268,
 431.
 geōmrian 121, 536.
 geon 110.

geond 268, 559.
geondan 559.
geondsēon 14.
geondþencan 14.
geong (giong, giung)
51, 116, 268, 289,
426, 443, 444, 620.
geongling 607.
gēopan 493.
georn 85, 91, 426.
georne 553.
geornes 259.
geornfull 629.
gēosceaft 617.
gēotan 135, 137, 163,
315, 316, 493.
gēow 360.
geræcan 651.
gerædan 610.
gerēfa 401.
geresp 393.
gerinnan 651.
gerisan 491.
gerūna 401.
gesaca 401.
gesælig 630.
gesælp(u) 372.
gesamnian 59.
gesceaft 12, 240, 295,
391, 563, 574.
gescentu 613.
gesēaw 437.
gesecgan 651.
geset 344.
gesēpan 62.
gesibb 432.
gesibbsum 636.
gesibling 607.
gesiehp 99, 184.
gesiene 434, 438.
gesinsclic 634.
gesip 97, 286, 574.
gesprec 344.
gestigan 651.
gestrangian 536.
gesund 12, 574.
geswencan 531, 643.
gesweostor (gesweos-
tru, -a) 415.

geswinc 393.
gesyntu, -o 112, 259,
300, 305, 613.
getenge 434.
getiene 357.
getimbre 357.
getriewan (getriowan,
getrēowan) 90, 264,
533.
getriewe (getriowe, ge-
trēowe) 90, 174, 264,
434.
geþafung 373.
geþaht 12, 391, 563.
geþeodræden 610.
geþiedan 138, 530.
geþiodan (geþeodan)
138, 651.
geþiode (geþeode) 138,
175, 357.
geþofta 401.
geþyld 391.
geþyldig 630.
geþyldum 557.
gewæcan 534.
gewæde 357.
gewealc 419.
gewealdes 557.
gewēd 393.
geweorc 574.
gewerian 525.
gewider 12, 41, 547.
gewieldan 259, 530, 643.
gewinnan 651.
gewiss 240, 316, 426.
gewit 225.
gewita 574.
gewitan 490.
gewlencan 531.
gewrit 344.
gewuna 401, 574.
gewyrht 391.
giedd 356.
giefa 225.
giefan 5, 7, 51, 72, 91,
124, 168, 170, 172,
181, 188, 225, 262,
293, 294, 298, 316,
505.

gieffæst 627.
giefstōl 618.
giefu 91, 214, 215, 217,
218, 252, 284, 316,
365, 366.
gield 343, 562.
gieldan 91, 181, 316,
499.
giellan 91, 259, 316, 499.
gielp 335.
gielpān 91, 316, 499,
625.
gieltan 300.
gieman 136, 316, 530.
giemelēas 633.
giemelīest 613.
giemen(n) 599.
gierd 67, 272, 374, 376.
giernan 99, 316, 530.
gierwan 67, 266, 316,
529, 533.
giest (*guest*) 5, 7, 20,
51, 73, 170, 181, 211,
215, 231, 235, 252,
316, 385, 387.
giest (*yeast*) 91, 268.
gīfre 433, 434.
gift 96, 225, 240, 295,
316, 563.
giftu 391.
gimm 50, 82, 157.
gīnan 490.
ginian 536.
giong (giung) 116.
git 460, 462.
gītsera 602.
gītsian 536, 659.
gīw 360.
gladian 57, 78.
glæd 54, 223, 276, 315,
423, 424, 425, 443.
glædmōd 641.
glæm 387.
glæs 54, 345.
glēaw 76, 265, 437,
439.
glēawferhp 641.
glēawhycgende 640.
glēawnes 609.

- glēd 129, 390, 563.
 glengan 530.
 glidan 126, 490.
 glig 357.
 glioda 102.
 glīw 357.
 glōf 128, 315, 367.
 glōm 128.
 glōmung 615.
 glōwan 128.
 gnætt 315.
 gnagan 57, 508.
 gnēap 426.
 gnidan 490.
 god 7, 43, 106, 253,
 299, 315, 344.
 göd 128, 223, 284, 299,
 315, 426, 445.
 godbearn 11.
 godcund 623.
 göddönd 417.
 gödlic 218.
 gödscipe 611.
 godspell 617.
 godspellere 602.
 gold 7, 43, 106, 276,
 303, 315, 343, 562.
 goldhroden 640.
 gös 5, 6, 50, 61, 62,
 147, 163, 165, 194,
 235, 286, 306, 315,
 411.
 græf 345.
 græg 426.
 græs 54, 315.
 grafan 54, 57, 508.
 gram 425.
 gram bære 622.
 grame 553.
 gramheort 641.
 grammöd 641.
 grāpian 133, 291, 536.
 grasian 307.
 grēat 135, 426, 443,
 444.
 grēdig 630.
 gremman 526.
 grēne 5, 129, 194, 278,
 285, 315, 434, 438.
 grēnnes 609.
 grēotan 111, 493.
 grētan 129, 300, 528,
 531.
 grēting 10, 615.
 grimmettan 10, 530,
 657.
 grimm 426, 443.
 grimman 498.
 grimsian 283, 536, 659.
 grin 391.
 grindan 498.
 grīpan 101, 126, 490.
 gripe 386.
 grōwan 5, 128, 165,
 264, 266, 519.
 grund 111, 315, 395.
 grundlunga, -linga
 554.
 grūt 411.
 gryre 386.
 guma 5, 50, 109, 159,
 213, 215, 217, 218,
 235, 252, 282, 315,
 331, 400, 401.
 gumcynn 618.
 gund 230.
 gūp 113, 315.
 gūpbana 617.
 gyden 43, 112, 259, 378,
 599.
 gylden 43, 47, 112, 160,
 218, 315, 431, 530,
 625.
 gyldenfeax 641.
 gylt 298, 387.
 gyrdan 259, 299, 530.
 gyrdels 277, 598.
 gyte 386.
 habban 5, 7, 8, 54, 57,
 183, 292, 293, 305,
 325, 474, 538.
 haca 401.
 hacle 404.
 hād 133, 397, 605.
 -hād 605.
 hādesmann 619.
 hādor 431.
 hæcc 55, 375.
 hæf 345.
 hæft 231, 335, 563.
 hæftan 56, 530.
 hæftedöm 597.
 hæften 599.
 hæftincel 358, 606.
 hæfpling 607.
 hæftnian 595.
 hæg(e)l 54, 155, 340.
 hægtes(s) 378.
 hæl 393, 419.
 hælān 5, 47, 134, 162,
 191, 325, 530, 643.
 hæle 386, 414.
 hælend 418, 601.
 hælep 58, 301, 414.
 hælnes 10, 609.
 hælu, -o 383, 563.
 hæman 530.
 hær 119.
 hærēn 625.
 hærfest 58, 339.
 hæriht 10, 631.
 hæring 607.
 hærn 66, 280.
 hæs 240, 390.
 hæsl 307.
 hætān 134, 191, 531.
 hæteru 419.
 hætu, -o 383, 563.
 hæp 47, 134, 162, 301.
 hæpen 288, 302, 431.
 hæpēnscepe 611.
 hæpiht 631.
 hafēnian 536.
 hafola (hafela) 57, 78,
 222, 401.
 hafuc, -oc (heafuc, -oc)
 48, 57, 78, 197, 293,
 341.
 hāgol 5, 57, 340, 563.
 hagosteald 618.
 hagu 57.
 hāl 133, 161, 426, 620.
 hālbære 622.
 Hālga 421.
 hālgian 221, 536.
 hālig 216, 221, 223,

- 324, 421, 429, 431,
 440, 443, 444.
 hālor 419.
 hālwende 434, 638.
 hām 133, 282, 335, 562.
 hāmlēas 633.
 hamor 59, 278, 325,
 341, 563.
 hāmstede 617.
 hāmweardes 557.
 hana 59, 231, 401.
 hand 59, 215, 285,
 299, 325, 331, 398,
 562.
 handgeweorc 617.
 handlung 10, 615.
 hangian 239, 289, 536.
 hār 426.
 hara 5, 57, 238, 401.
 hārun 615.
 hās 426.
 hassuc 57.
 hasu (heasu) 436.
 hāt 133, 298.
 hātan 125, 133, 161,
 240, 474, 511, 512.
 hāte 553.
 hatian 57, 298, 536,
 538.
 hātweende 638.
 hē (he) 95, 144, 163,
 461, 462.
 hēafod 5, 10, 135, 172,
 216, 221, 293, 299,
 325, 347, 350.
 hēafodling 607.
 hēah 5, 47, 135, 136,
 163, 174, 187, 221,
 328, 329, 427, 428,
 440, 443, 557.
 hēahsynn 617.
 heald 562.
 healdan 5, 7, 49, 176,
 253, 299, 516.
 hēalede 624.
 healf 64, 262, 294.
 healfcwic 640.
 healfslāpende 640.
 healfsoden 640.
 healh 337.
 hēalic 329.
 hēalichād 605.
 heall 64, 367.
 healm 335.
 heals 64, 306, 335.
 healt 426.
 hēan 426, 530.
 hēane 553.
 hēanes 329.
 hēap 135, 243, 291.
 hēapmælum 557.
 heard 5, 7, 49, 66, 168,
 218, 278, 299, 325,
 426, 439, 620.
 hearde 553, 555.
 hearing 607.
 heardnes 609.
 hearg 66, 397.
 hearm 66.
 hearmstafas 612.
 hearpe 291, 404.
 hearpere 602.
 hearpung 615.
 heaþu 78.
 hēawan 76, 172, 264,
 518.
 hebban 47, 55, 128,
 231, 258, 272, 295,
 297, 510.
 hēdan 129.
 hefe 386.
 hefig 218, 293, 324.
 hef(i)gian 536.
 hege 55, 386.
 hēla 118, 329.
 helan 80, 503.
 helian 526.
 hell 55, 254, 272, 375.
 hellebryne 619.
 hellewite 619.
 helm 80, 276, 282, 335.
 helpan 5, 41, 43, 64,
 80, 96, 106, 111, 215,
 226, 276, 291, 472,
 475, 476, 482, 484,
 486, 499.
 helpend 418.
 helustr 92.
 hemming 607.
 hengen 599.
 hengest 221, 339.
 henn 60, 254, 272, 285,
 374.
 hēo (hio) 104, 462.
 hēo-dæg 557.
 heofon 92, 221, 222,
 285, 288, 293, 338,
 341, 563.
 heofoncund 623.
 heofone 404.
 heofonisc 10, 632.
 heofonlic 10, 634.
 heolfor 84.
 heolor 92.
 heol(o)stor 48, 92.
 heom 462.
 heonan (hionan) 102,
 558.
 heononweard 637.
 heora (hiora) 102.
 heord 41, 85, 367.
 -heort 641.
 heortcōpu 618.
 heorte 5, 49, 85, 169,
 196, 205, 231, 288,
 325, 404.
 heorþ 85.
 heoru 396.
 heorut, -ot 48, 92, 341.
 heoruworð 618.
 hēow (hīow) 90.
 hēr 5, 125, 163, 558.
 here 5, 47, 55, 156,
 274, 278, 351, 353.
 herefolc 618.
 here-toga 225, 239.
 hergian 536.
 herian 55, 252, 254,
 271, 525.
 hete 55, 386, 419.
 hetele 10.
 hetelic 634.
 hetelice 553.
 hetepāncol 640.
 hetol 635.
 hettend 418, 538, 601.
 hī (hi) 6, 461, 462.

- hider 96, 299, 558.
 hidercyme 617.
 hidergeond 558.
 hiderweard 637.
 hīdmælum 557.
 hidres 558.
 hīe 461.
 hīeg 270, 357.
 hīehst(a) 326, 329, 444.
 hīehþ(o) 613.
 hīenan 136, 530.
 hīenþ(o) 613.
 hiera (hira, heora) 461.
 hieran 5, 136, 174, 188,
 215, 221, 252, 272,
 273, 279, 288, 299,
 325, 530.
 hierdan 530.
 hierde 5, 41, 47, 99,
 204, 207, 274, 354.
 hierdebōc 618.
 here (hire) 461.
 hierstan 530.
 hiertan 530, 643.
 hierwan 533.
 hiew (hiw) 90, 265,
 357.
 hīewet 604.
 hīgian 536.
 hild 96, 272, 376.
 hildestrengo 619.
 hilt 393, 419.
 him 461.
 hind 96, 376.
 hindan 446, 558.
 hindanweard 557.
 hindema 446.
 hinder 558.
 hine (hiene) 461, 462.
 hīo (hēo) 461.
 hiora (heora, hiera)
 462.
 hire (here) 462.
 his 461, 462.
 hit 461, 462.
 hīw 357.
 hīwan 401.
 hīwisc 632.
 hīwræden 610.
 hladan 54, 57, 78, 325,
 508.
 hlædel 54.
 hlæder 134.
 hlæfdige 404.
 hlæne 434.
 hlæst 335.
 hlæw 134, 419.
 hlāf 133, 294, 325, 335.
 hlāflæst 613.
 hlāfmæsse 150.
 hlāford 13, 133, 267,
 276, 293.
 hlāforddōm 597.
 hlāfordscipe 611.
 hlagol 635.
 hlammasse 150.
 hlāw 133, 419.
 hleahtor 68, 326, 340.
 hlēapan 5, 135, 325,
 518.
 hlēapestre 603.
 hlēapettan 10, 657.
 hlēotan 493.
 hlēo(w) 363.
 hlēowan 533.
 hlid 96, 325, 344.
 hliehhan 5, 7, 47, 69,
 170, 177, 239, 254,
 272, 326, 484, 510.
 hlīep 387, 562.
 hlīewan 533.
 hlīewþ(u) 372, 613.
 hlimman 498.
 hlinian 536.
 hlot 106, 325.
 hlōwan 264, 519.
 hlūd 7, 131, 299.
 hlūde 553.
 hlūdswēge 557.
 hlūtōr (hlūtōr) 131,
 219, 255, 431.
 hlȳdan 132, 530, 643.
 hlyn(n) 352.
 hlynnan 526.
 hlyst 387.
 hlystan 530.
 hlystend 601.
 hnæpp 243, 335.
 hnæppian (hnappian)
 57, 78, 536.
 hnæsce (hnesce) 434,
 439.
 hneappian 78.
 hnēaw 265, 437.
 hnecca 310.
 hnigan 325, 490.
 hnitan 490.
 hnitōl 430.
 hnitū 412.
 hnot 425.
 hnutu 111, 213, 285,
 325, 410, 412.
 hōc 128.
 hōcede 624.
 hōd 128.
 hof 106, 295, 342, 344.
 hōf 128, 335.
 hoferede 624.
 hogfæst 627.
 hogu 366.
 hōh 117.
 hol 106, 344, 425.
 hold 43, 106, 303, 325,
 426.
 holde 553.
 holdlice 553, 555.
 holdræden 610.
 holdscipe 611.
 holh 106, 149, 165, 328,
 329, 346.
 holpen 431.
 hōlunga 554.
 hōn 117, 239, 245, 329,
 514.
 hōpian 106, 536.
 hoppettan 657.
 hoppian 243.
 hord 106, 158, 244, 252,
 279, 343.
 hordere 602.
 horh 239, 337.
 horn 106, 343.
 hornbære 622.
 hors 106, 280, 306,
 343.
 hōs 61, 286.
 hræ 266.

- hræd 425.
 hræf(e)n 7, 54, 219,
 285, 293, 325.
 hræ(w) 134, 419.
 hraþor 57.
 hrā(w) 133, 265, 419.
 hrēa 75, 172.
 hrēam 335.
 hrēa(w) 265, 437.
 hreddan 523, 527.
 hrēod 325, 343.
 hrēodihþ 631.
 hrēoh 428.
 hrēosan 494.
 hrēow 265, 379.
 hrēowan 493.
 hrēowsian 536, 659.
 hrīefþ(o) 613.
 hrīm 335.
 hrīmig 325.
 hrīnan 490.
 hrindan 498.
 hrine 386.
 hring 96, 317, 325, 335.
 hringan 530.
 hringed(e) 624.
 hrīs 343.
 hrissan (hrisian) 526.
 hrīþer (hrýþer) 97, 419.
 hrōc 128.
 hrōf 7, 128, 278, 295,
 296.
 hrōflēas 633.
 hrōpan 128, 519.
 hrōr 426.
 hrūse 404.
 hrūtan 496.
 hrycg 112, 274, 319,
 352.
 hryre 386.
 hū 130, 166, 266.
 hū gēares 557.
 hū gerādes 557.
 hū meta 557.
 hund (*dog*) 21, 159,
 231, 246, 335.
 hund (*hundred*) 34,
 111, 231, 238, 242,
 246, 447.
 hundeahtatig 447.
 hundeahtatigopa 447.
 hundendleofantig 447.
 hundendleofantigopa
 447.
 hundfeald 628.
 hundnigontig 447.
 hundnigontigopa 447.
 hundred 447.
 hundseofontig 447.
 hundseofontigopa 447.
 hundtēontig 447.
 hundtēontigopa 447.
 hundtwelftig 447.
 hundtwelftigopa 447.
 hungor 5, 7, 111, 159,
 289, 317, 325, 395.
 hungrig 630.
 hunig, -eg 50, 109, 159,
 218, 290.
 hunta 401.
 huntigestre 10, 603.
 huntoþ 218, 395, 595.
 hū nyta 557.
 hūs 4, 5, 7, 131, 166,
 306, 307, 325, 343,
 562.
 hūsfaest 626.
 hūsincel 358, 606.
 hūsul (hūsel, hūsl) 113,
 219.
 hūsraeden(n) 378, 610.
 hūswist 616.
 hwā 7, 79, 144, 161,
 231, 252, 263, 325,
 469.
 hwæl 54, 233, 325, 336.
 hwær 52, 194, 558.
 hwæt 20, 54, 211, 298,
 469.
 hwæt (*adj.*) 425.
 hwæte 7, 134, 263, 298,
 325, 354.
 hwæten 625.
 hwæthwugu 471.
 hwætlice 553.
 hwætscipe 611.
 hwæper 41, 45, 218,
 325, 470, 560.
 hwæp(e)re 560.
 hwamm 335.
 hwanon 558.
 hwearfian 536.
 hwelc 311, 470.
 hwelchwugu 471.
 hwelp 325, 335.
 hwēne 557.
 hweogol 92.
 hweorfan 500.
 hweowol 264.
 hwettan 298, 527.
 hwider 558.
 hwierfan 531.
 hwil 126, 325, 367.
 hwilc 469.
 hwile 560.
 hwilen 625.
 hwilende 267.
 hwil-tidum 557.
 hwilum 557.
 hwilwende 638.
 hwinan 490.
 hwistlere 602.
 hwit 126, 243, 260, 298,
 325, 426.
 hwitan 531.
 hwone 59.
 hwonne 59.
 hwōpan 519.
 hwyrft 387.
 hycgan 112, 538.
 hȳd 132, 390.
 hȳdan 132, 530.
 hȳdels 598.
 hȳf 132, 190, 390.
 hyge 7, 112, 320, 386.
 hygefæst 627.
 hygelæst 613.
 hyht 387, 563.
 hyhtan 530.
 hyhtfull 629.
 hylðu, -o 43, 112, 383,
 563.
 hylðræden 610.
 hyll 112, 259, 276, 352.
 hyngnan 112, 221, 528,
 529.
 hype 112, 386.

- hyrdel 112.
 hýrling 607.
 hýrnen 112, 625.
 hýrnet(u) 378.
 hýrst 390.
 hyse 386.
 hyspan 531.

 ic 232, 311, 458, 459, 462.
 idæges 557.
 idel 126, 431, 639.
 idelnes 609.
 ides 221, 390.
 iēcan 136, 300, 531, 534.
 iedisc 632.
 ieg 270, 376.
 ieldan 530, 643.
 ieldcian 536.
 ielde 385.
 ielding 615.
 ieldu 65, 183, 383, 563.
 ielfe 385.
 ielfetu 378.
 ierfe 5, 47, 67, 170, 181, 357.
 ierfeweard 618.
 iergþ(o) 613.
 ierming 67, 607.
 iermþu, -(o) 47, 67, 613.
 iernan (irnan, yrnān) 59, 66, 98, 280, 498.
 ierre 47, 99, 170, 204, 207, 279, 357, 433, 434.
 ierremōd 641.
 ierringa 10, 554.
 iersian 536, 659.
 ierþling 607.
 ierþ 556.
 iēpe 136, 434.
 iēwan 533.
 ifig 126.
 ifiht 631.
 -ig 630.
 igil 322.
 -iht 631.

 il 322.
 ile 386.
 in 575.
 in- 575.
 inādl 575.
 inbūend 575.
 inc 460, 462.
 inca 401.
 -incol 606.
 incer 460, 464.
 incit 46c.
 incniht 575.
 incofa 575.
 incuman 14.
 infær 575.
 infaru 575.
 -ing 607, 615.
 inhere 575.
 inlendisc 632.
 in(n) 558.
 innan 558, 559.
 innancund 623.
 innanweard 637.
 inne 446, 458.
 innemesta 223.
 insegl 575.
 in-stæpe 557.
 in-stede 557.
 inþicce 575.
 Iren 126.
 is 41.
 is 7, 126, 164, 306, 343.
 -isc 632.
 Isen 126.
 isengræg 11.
 isīþes 557.
 iugup 116.
 iung 116.

 -lāc 608.
 lācan 511, 512.
 lācnian 119, 536.
 lād 225, 367, 562.
 -lācan, 658.
 lāccan 55.
 lāce 119, 274, 311, 354.
 lācedōm 597.
 lāecnian 119.

 lāedan 5, 7, 134, 239, 276, 288, 299, 300, 530, 643.
 lāeden 298.
 lāefan 134, 293, 530.
 lāen 393, 419.
 lāenan 530.
 lāene 329, 434.
 lāenere 10, 602.
 lāepa 57.
 lāeran 134, 252, 279, 288, 530, 643.
 lāestre 603.
 lās (*adv.*) 556.
 lāssa 280, 445.
 lāst(a) 387, 445.
 lāstan 134, 259, 550.
 lāstend 601.
 læt 57, 425, 446, 620.
 lætan 119, 511, 513.
 lætlice 553.
 lætræde 434.
 læþan 530.
 læþþo 613.
 lēwan 47, 120, 162, 533.
 lāf 367, 562.
 lagu 7, 57, 320, 396.
 lām 343.
 lama 59.
 lamb 59, 154, 276, 282, 292, 331, 419, 420.
 land 5, 50, 59, 276, 343, 562.
 lang 5, 7, 47, 50, 59, 60, 154, 221, 234, 276, 289, 317, 426, 443, 444, 620.
 lange 556.
 langian 536.
 langmōd 641.
 langop 340, 595.
 langsum 636.
 langung 615.
 lappa (læppa) 57, 256.
 lār 133, 215, 225, 367.
 lārēow 360.
 lārēowdōm 597.
 lārhus 11, 617.

- lārleāst, -liest 613.
lāst 335, 563.
late 553.
latian 98.
lāttēow 305, 360.
lāp 426.
lāpian 57, 536.
lāpu 365, 366.
lāpwende 638.
lāwerce 264.
lēac 135.
lēad 135.
lēaden 625.
lēaf 135, 294, 343.
lēan (*sb.*) 135, 343.
lēan (*v.*) 70, 239, 329, 509.
lēanian 536.
lēas 426.
-lēas 613, 633.
lēasere 602.
lēasettan 657.
lēasgielp 617.
lēasian 536, 643.
lēasung 373, 615.
lēc 387.
leccan 534.
lecgan 7, 47, 55, 156, 254, 259, 272, 273, 276, 319, 321, 527, 643.
legen 430.
leger 349.
lemb 419.
lendān 530.
leng 252, 556.
lengan 530.
lengo 563.
lengten (lencten) 318.
lengþ(u), (-o) 47, 60, 613.
lēo 402.
lēod 367.
lēodan 493.
lēof 137, 173, 208, 209, 218, 235, 276, 294, 426, 443, 444, 620.
lēofosta 10.
lēofwende 638.
lēofwendum 557.
lēogan 135, 137, 320, 493.
lēogere 602.
lēoht (*sb.*) 44, 137, 189, 326.
lēoht (*adj.*) 49, 127, 175, 192.
lēohtbære 622.
lēohtberende 640.
lēoma 329, 401.
leornere 602.
leornian (liornian) 5, 7, 49, 98, 170, 252, 276, 279.
leornung (liornung) 216, 225, 371, 373.
lēoþ 343.
lesan 80, 239, 307, 505.
lettan 527.
leþer 80.
libban 7, 42, 48, 96, 102, 171, 292, 293, 538.
līc 311, 343, 562.
-līc 634.
liccian 42, 243, 310.
licettan 259, 657.
licgan 41, 96, 120, 161, 240, 254, 319, 322, 484, 507.
lician 536.
licuma (lichama) 325.
lida 225, 401, 562.
lieg 387.
liehtan (*to give light*) 5, 44, 47, 138, 174, 192, 209, 210, 326, 530, 643.
liehtan (*to make easier*) 47, 127, 174, 192.
liesan 530.
liexan 531.
lif 5, 126, 276, 294.
lifer 42, 96, 293.
lim 96, 101, 202, 344, 562.
limhāl 640.
limmælum 557.
līn 343.
lind 367.
-ling 607.
linnan 498.
liode (lēode) 5, 44, 138, 175, 385.
lion (lēon) 29, 127, 133, 139, 174, 175, 192, 231, 246, 329, 492.
list 96, 387.
liþ 344.
liþan 126, 133, 225, 226, 239, 491.
liþe 97, 164, 434.
liþend 225, 601.
lipincel 606.
līps (liss) 305, 376.
loc 106, 344, 562.
lōc (lōca) 471.
loca 401.
locc 243.
lōcian 223, 243, 273, 310, 536.
lof 106, 145, 294, 562.
lofian 293, 536.
loflæcan 658.
loflīc 634.
loflīce 553.
loppe 404.
loppestre 603.
losian 536.
loswist 616.
lot 344.
lūcan 131, 472, 496.
lufestre 603.
lufian 5, 108, 218, 293, 536.
lufsum 636.
lufsumnes 609.
luftācen 618.
luftieme 640.
lufu 108, 276, 366.
lufwende 638.
lūs 3, 131, 132, 411.
lust 111, 395.
lustbære 622.
lūtan 496.
lyffettan 657.
lyft 387.

- lyge 112, 320, 386.
 lygen 599.
 lyre 239, 386, 562.
 lystan 530.
 lýt 556.
 lýtel 132, 255, 276,
 431, 445, 607, 639.
 lýthwön 557.
 lýtle 556.
 lýtling 339, 607.

 mā 252, 556.
 macian 10, 57, 218,
 273, 282, 299, 309,
 310, 536.
 mæ 556.
 mæcg (mecg) 55, 352.
 mæd 264, 266, 379,
 381.
 mæden 54, 146, 162,
 321, 350, 600.
 mædræden 610.
 mæg (*v.*) 324.
 mæg 119, 120, 161,
 336.
 mægden 5, 54, 58, 146,
 162, 218, 321, 350,
 600.
 mægdenhād 605.
 mæge (māge) 404.
 mægen 54, 320, 349.
 mægenfæst 627.
 mægenlēas 633.
 mæg(e)þ 414.
 mægræden 610.
 mægþhād 605.
 mægþ(u) 372.
 mæl 119.
 mænan 134, 530.
 mæran 530, 643.
 mære 119, 434, 620.
 mærels 598.
 mærlīc 634.
 mærsian 536, 659.
 mærp(o) 613.
 mæst 335.
 mæst 556, 557.
 mæst(a) 445.
 mæstan 56, 530.

 mæþ 563.
 mæþere 602.
 mæw 387.
 maffa 57.
 maga 320, 401.
 magan 78, 240, 481,
 544.
 magorinc 618.
 magu 57, 396.
 mæn 343.
 mangere 602.
 manian 536.
 manig 59, 324, 421,
 429, 430.
 manigfeald 453, 628.
 man(n) 5, 59, 60, 154,
 259, 282, 285, 562.
 manna 409.
 mannbære 622.
 man(n)ræden 610.
 manscipe 611.
 manþwære 434.
 mæra 252, 279, 445.
 martyr 66.
 masc (max) 57, 243.
 mattuc, -oc 57, 298,
 340.
 mapelian 10.
 mæpum (mæpm) 133,
 219, 282, 340, 563.
 mawan 5, 120, 264,
 282, 517.
 mē (me) 95, 144, 163,
 252, 459, 462.
 meagol 635.
 meahht (*sβ.*) 68, 240, 390.
 meahht (*v.*) 68, 563.
 meahhta 326.
 meahhte (*v.*) 68.
 mealt 64.
 mearc 66, 178, 367.
 mearg 66, 244, 323.
 mearh 66, 149, 172,
 328, 329, 334, 337.
 mearu 66, 436.
 mec 213, 311, 459, 462.
 mēce 119, 311, 354.
 mecg 55.
 mēd 125, 163, 367.

 medeme 434.
 medu (meodu) 48, 92,
 396.
 medudrēam 618.
 meduma (medema)
 446.
 meldian 536.
 meltan 80, 276, 282,
 298, 499.
 melu (meolu) 92, 169,
 220, 276, 362.
 mene 386, 419.
 menen 599.
 menga 60, 289, 530,
 643.
 menigu, -o (mengu)
 383, 563.
 men(n) 252.
 mennisc 60, 632.
 mennisclic 634.
 menniscu 614.
 meolcan (melcan) 5,
 7, 49, 84, 169, 182,
 500.
 meol(u)c 411.
 meord 244, 367.
 meotod 92.
 meowle 52, 77, 169,
 264, 404.
 meox (miox) 5, 49, 98,
 170, 327.
 mere 55, 215, 386.
 merewif 618.
 metan 80, 93, 226,
 505.
 mētan 129, 298, 531.
 mete 5, 55, 386.
 met(e)gian 536.
 metend 601.
 metod 92, 221, 341.
 mēpe 434.
 micel 223, 260, 430,
 445.
 micelhēafdede 624.
 micelmōd 641.
 micelu 614.
 micle 553.
 mid 559, 560, 576.
 mid- 576.

- midd 41, 96, 299, 432, 446.
 middelniht 617.
 midlunga 554.
 midspreca 576.
 midwist 576, 616.
 midwunian 14.
 midwunung 576.
 midwyrhta 576.
 mieht (miht) (*sb.*) 68, 69, 390.
 miehtig (mihtig) 69, 177, 218.
 miltan 65.
 Mierce 355.
 mierzels 598.
 mīere 404.
 mierran 279, 530.
 migan 490.
 milde 300, 434, 553.
 mildheort 641.
 mildheortnes 609.
 milts (mils) 300, 376.
 miltsian (milsian) 300, 536, 659.
 mīn 5, 126, 164, 282, 459, 464.
 minsian 286.
 mint 82.
 miol(u)c (milc) 5, 48, 101, 171, 184, 276, 310.
 mis- 577, 652.
 misbēodan 652.
 misboren 577.
 miscweþan 652.
 misdōn 652.
 misfadian 652.
 misfadung 577.
 misfaran 652.
 misfēran 652.
 misfōn 652.
 misgiēman 652.
 misgrētan 652.
 mishieran 652.
 mishworfen 577.
 mislāeran 652.
 mislār 577.
 misrācan 652.
 misrāed 577.
 mistig 10.
 miswenden 652.
 mittȳ 305.
 mīþan 239, 491.
 mōd 128, 343.
 -mōd 641.
 mōdcearig 640.
 mōdfull 629.
 mōdig 630.
 mōdor 5, 23, 128, 129, 211, 253, 260, 278, 282, 299, 415.
 mōdrige 404.
 mōdwlanc 11.
 molde 106, 404, 562.
 moldgræf 618.
 mōna 5, 6, 24, 50, 121, 165, 211, 282, 285, 401.
 mōnanāfen 619.
 mōn(an)dæg 619.
 mōnaþ 121, 221, 223, 301, 414.
 mōr 335.
 more 404.
 morgen 106, 107, 340, 563.
 morþ 106, 343.
 morþor 106, 302.
 mōst, mōste (*v.*) 240.
 mōt 545.
 mōthūs 617.
 moþþe 7, 301, 404.
 munan 543.
 mund 367.
 mundbora 596.
 munt 109.
 munuc 109, 285.
 munuchād 605.
 murcnian 108.
 murcnung 615.
 murnan 108, 472, 502.
 mūs 3, 5, 27, 47, 131, 132, 166, 167, 190, 306, 411, 562.
 mūþ 5, 7, 113, 166, 282, 286, 301, 335.
 mycel 112, 311.
 mycg 112, 259, 319, 352.
 mylen 112, 285.
 myne 386.
 mynecen(n) 599.
 mynet 109.
 mynster 109.
 myntan 530.
 myrge 434, 553.
 myr(i)gþ 220, 320, 613.
 myrþran 112.
 naca 401.
 nacod 57, 153, 221, 249, 285, 299, 310, 430, 639.
 nādī 119, 219, 276, 285, 304, 370, 563.
 nādre 119, 260, 299, 404.
 næg(e)l 54, 219, 276, 320, 340, 563.
 næglan 56.
 nāenge, nānge þinga 557.
 nāenig 471.
 nāp 119, 162.
 nātan 531.
 nafu 366.
 nafula (nafela) 57, 222.
 nāht 471.
 nāhwær 558.
 nāhwæper 471, 560.
 nama 5, 50, 59, 154, 256, 282, 285, 401, 562.
 nambōc 618.
 namcūþ 640.
 nammælum 557.
 nān 471.
 nānþing 471.
 nāt 540.
 nāuht 267.
 nāwer 558.
 nāwiht (-wuht) 133, 471.
 nāwper 471.
 -nd 601.

- ne 560.
 nēadinga 554.
 nēadlunga 554.
 nēah 5, 7, 47, 49, 123,
 139, 172, 189, 221,
 246, 328, 329, 428,
 443, 558, 559.
 nēahmæg 617.
 neaht 68, 231, 298, 411.
 nēalæcan 329, 534, 658.
 nēalīc 329.
 nealles 557.
 nēan 558.
 nēar 123, 329, 558,
 559.
 nearu 66, 220, 436,
 553.
 nearwe 264, 553.
 nearwian 643.
 nēat 343.
 nēawist, -west 329, 616.
 nebb 292, 356.
 nefa 80, 231, 256, 285,
 401.
 nefne 560.
 nemnan 60, 287, 530,
 643.
 nemne 560.
 nēode 557.
 nēotan 225, 493.
 nerian 10, 55, 211, 212,
 214, 217, 218, 221,
 239, 252, 254, 271,
 273, 279, 527, 643.
 neri(g)end 418.
 -nes(s) 609.
 nest 42, 80, 243, 343.
 netel 369.
 nett 55, 254, 274, 285,
 355, 356, 562.
 nēpan 62, 530.
 nēpl 304.
 niēd 136, 188, 390.
 niedan 136, 530.
 niedes 557.
 nīdinga 554.
 nīdīng 607.
 nīehst(a) 123, 326, 329,
 444, 559.
 niēht 69.
 nierwan 264, 266, 533.
 nierwet(t) 358, 604.
 nīeten 216, 350.
 nīewe (nīwe) 5, 90, 174,
 264, 434, 620.
 nīft 96, 231, 376.
 nīgon 447.
 nīgontēoþa 447.
 nīgontīene 447.
 nīgoþa 447.
 niht 68, 411.
 nihtes 557.
 nihtlanges 557.
 nīman 1, 5, 48, 50, 81,
 102, 109, 121, 157,
 165, 203, 213, 215,
 218, 221, 282, 286,
 288, 334, 488, 504.
 nīoþan 446, 558.
 nīowe (nēowe) 90.
 nīpan 490.
 -nis(s) 609.
 nīþ 343.
 nīþer 96, 558.
 nīþergang 617.
 nīþerung 615.
 nīþerweard 637.
 nīþerweardes 557.
 nīþor 101, 202.
 nīht 471.
 nīhwæþer 471.
 norþ 106, 301, 446,
 558.
 norþan 288, 558.
 norþerne 626.
 norþ(e)weard 557, 637.
 Norþymbre 385.
 nosu 5, 7, 106, 261,
 307, 398.
 notu 225, 366, 562.
 -noþ 595.
 nōwer 558.
 nōwiht (-wuht) 133,
 471.
 nōwþer 471.
 nū 131.
 numol 635.
 nunmynster 618, 619.
 nunnanmynster 619.
 nunne 109.
 nymþe 560.
 nytlic 634.
 nytt 112, 225, 375, 432.
 nyttol 635.
 ō 133.
 -o 614.
 -od 639.
 of- 653.
 ofāscian 653.
 ofbēatan 653.
 ofclīpan 653.
 ofcyrf 563.
 ofdæle 393.
 ofdūne 557.
 ofearmian 653.
 ofen 106, 261, 292, 340.
 ofer 106, 293, 559, 578,
 645.
 ōfer 340.
 ofer- 578.
 oferæt 578.
 oferæte 434.
 oferbrū 578.
 oferdrenc 578.
 oferetolnes 609.
 oferfierru 383.
 oferhlūd 578.
 oferhygd 391, 578.
 ofermægen 578.
 ofermæte 578.
 ofermēttu, -o 305, 613.
 ofermicel 578.
 ofermōdig 578.
 oferslege 393, 419.
 oferslop 578.
 oferspræc 578.
 oferspræce 434.
 oferswiþan 14, 530.
 oferþearf 578.
 oferweorc 578.
 oferweorpan 14.
 of(e)stum 557.
 ofet 349.
 offeran 653.
 offiellan 653.
 offrian 295, 556.

- ofgān 653.
 ofgiefan 653.
 ofmunan 653.
 ofsendan 653.
 ofsittan 653.
 ofslægenes 563.
 ofslingan 653.
 ofspræc 563.
 ofsteppan 653.
 ofstician 653.
 ofswingan 653.
 ofteon 653.
 oftyrfan 531.
 ofpringan 653.
 ofpryscan 531.
 ofwundrian 653.
 ōga 401.
 ōht 117, 471.
 ōhwæper 471.
 -ol 635, 639.
 ōleccan 534.
 ōm 121.
 ōmig 630.
 on 59, 559, 568, 579.
 on- 569, 579, 654.
 onæpele 579.
 onbæc 557.
 onbæcling 557.
 onbēodan 654.
 onberan 654.
 onbindan 654.
 onbring 579.
 onbryce 579.
 onbūtan 557, 559.
 onbyrdan 530.
 oncnāwan 654.
 ondrædan 511, 513.
 onefn 557.
 onettan 325.
 onfangennes 11.
 onfealdan 654.
 onfindan 654.
 onflæscnes 579.
 onforan 557.
 ongēan (ongēn, ongegn)
 321, 559.
 ongēanfealdan 14.
 ongēanweard 637.
 on(ge)mang 559.
 ongietan 10, 654.
 ongietennes 11.
 ongin 11.
 ongin 259, 498.
 onhioldan 530.
 onhyrian 525.
 oninnan 559.
 onlūcan 654.
 onsacan 10.
 onsælan 654.
 on scipwisan 557.
 onscrýdan 654.
 onscunian 538.
 onscynian 538.
 onsgian 654.
 onspannan 654.
 onstigend 579.
 onsting 579.
 onsuntrum 557.
 ontendan 530.
 ontýnan 132, 190, 654.
 onufan 559.
 onuppan 559.
 onweg 15, 557.
 onwenden 654.
 onwindan 654.
 onwist 616.
 onwreōn 654.
 onwriþan 654.
 open 106, 291, 430, 639.
 op(e)nian 536, 643.
 or- 580, 646.
 -or 639.
 orcēapes 557.
 orcēas 580.
 orcnāwe 580.
 ordāl 580.
 oreald 580.
 ōret 14, 325.
 ōretta 401.
 ōrettan 14.
 orgiete 580.
 orgilde 580.
 orleahre 580.
 orlege 393, 419.
 ormæte 434, 580.
 ormōd 580.
 orsāwle 580.
 orscaetunga 554.
 orsorg 111, 580.
 ortýdre 580.
 orþanc 10, 111, 580.
 orþances 557.
 orwēne 111, 580.
 orweorþ 580.
 ōs- 61.
 ōsle 7, 50, 61, 261, 283,
 307, 404.
 op 559.
 op- 655.
 -op 595.
 opberan 655.
 opberstan 14, 655.
 opcweian 655.
 ōper 5, 50, 61, 147, 218,
 221, 223, 259, 286,
 302, 421, 431, 447.
 opfæstan 655.
 opfeallan 14.
 opflēon 655.
 opgangan 10.
 opglidan 655.
 ophebban 655.
 ophýdan 655.
 opiernan 655.
 oplædan 655.
 opstillan 655.
 opswerian 655.
 opþe 301, 560.
 opwenden 655.
 ōwer 558.
 ōwiht (-wuht) 133, 471.
 ōwþer 471.
 oxa 5, 47, 106, 107, 156,
 158, 327, 401, 562.
 pād 291.
 pæþ 54, 291, 336.
 pæþþan 55.
 palm 64.
 panne 404.
 pāwa (pēa) 291.
 pearroc 66, 340.
 pening (penig) 60, 290,
 291.
 Peohtas 86.
 pere (peru) 96, 291,
 404.

- pic 96, 291, 311.
 picen 625.
 pīn 125, 164.
 pinsian 50, 82, 97, 157,
 286, 291.
 piosan (pisan) 102.
 pīpe 404.
 pirige 404.
 pise 291, 404.
 plega 401.
 plegan 291.
 plegian (plægian, pla-
 gian) 538.
 plegol 430.
 pleoh 87, 329, 346.
 plēon 87, 506.
 pliht 291, 387.
 plōg 291, 323.
 pohha 326, 401.
 pott 291, 335.
 prēosthād 605.
 prica 401.
 prician 310.
 prūt 131, 291.
 prūtscipe 611.
 pund 109, 291.
 pyffan 7, 295, 530.
 pyle 112, 291.
 pyndan 530.
 pytt 112, 259, 291, 298,
 562.

 rā 133, 139, 402.
 racente 404.
 racu 57, 365, 366.
 rād 133, 367, 562.
 ræcan 134, 534.
 ræd 119, 562.
 rædan 119, 125, 162,
 278, 511, 513.
 rædbora 596.
 rædels 277, 598.
 ræden(n) 378.
 -ræden(n) 610.
 rædestre 603.
 ræding 615.
 rædsnotor 640.
 ræfnan 532.
 ræfsan (refsan) 295.

 ræpling 607.
 ræran 134, 239, 530,
 643.
 ræsan 531.
 ræscan 56.
 ramm 59.
 ranc 426.
 rāp 5, 133, 278, 291,
 335.
 rāpincel 606.
 rēad 33, 135, 172, 235,
 278, 299, 426, 620.
 rēafere 602.
 rēafian 536, 643.
 rēaflāc 608.
 rēafol 635.
 reccan 534.
 reccend 601.
 reccenddōm 597.
 reccere 602.
 reced 216, 349.
 rēcels 598.
 recen 430.
 recene 557.
 reg(e)n (rēn) 80, 163,
 219, 278, 285, 321,
 340.
 regol (reogol) 92, 199.
 rēocan 137, 189, 493.
 rēodan 493.
 reoht (rieht, ryht) 86,
 326.
 reord 367.
 rēotan 493.
 rest 56, 376.
 restan 56, 259, 298,
 306, 530.
 rētan 531.
 rēpe 434.
 rēwet 604.
 ribb 96, 292, 356.
 rice (*adj.*) 434.
 rīdan 7, 96, 126, 133,
 157, 164, 278, 475,
 476, 486, 490, 562.
 rīdend 601.
 rīcels 277.
 rignan 321.
 riht 86, 231, 426.

 rihtan (ryhtan) 99, 530.
 rihte 553.
 rihtgefremed 640.
 rihthand 617.
 rihtlæcan 658.
 rihtlice 298.
 rihtung 373.
 rihtwillende 640.
 rīm 126, 278.
 rima 81, 401.
 rīmcræft 617.
 rīnan 96.
 rinnan 242, 498.
 ripe 434.
 rīxian (ricsian) 7, 311,
 536, 659.
 rōd 367.
 rōdbora 596.
 rōdehengen(n) 619.
 rodor 221, 222, 278,
 341.
 rōf 426.
 rōt 426.
 rōw 437.
 rōwan 128, 264, 266,
 519.
 rudu 366.
 rūh 328, 428.
 rūm 131, 278, 282, 335,
 426, 562.
 rūn 367.
 rūst 131.
 ryge 386.
 rygen 625.
 ryht 86.
 rīman 132, 530, 643.
 rīmet 604.
 rīn 530.
 ryne 386, 562.
 rīne 357.
 ryppa 401.

 sacan 54, 57, 508.
 sacc 57, 153.
 sacleas 633.
 sacu 54, 57, 309, 366.
 sāda 401.
 sadol 57, 276, 299, 306,
 341.

- sæ 5, 134, 139, 266,
 306, 388, 562.
 sæcc 55, 375.
 sæcynig 617.
 sæd 425.
 sæd 5, 119, 306, 563.
 sædberende 640.
 sæde 321.
 sædere 354, 602.
 sædnoþ 595.
 sægan 530, 643.
 sæl 419.
 sæl 387.
 sælāc 608.
 sælan 530, 643.
 sælþ 303, 613.
 sæne 434.
 sæp 345.
 sæter(n)dæg 287.
 sæwet(t) 259, 358, 604.
 sagu 366.
 sāl 133.
 salor 419.
 salu (sealu) 64, 436.
 sam- 581, 582.
 sambærned 582.
 samcucu 582.
 samen 557.
 samgrēne 582.
 samhāl 582.
 samheort 581.
 samhīwan 581.
 samhwilc 471.
 samlæred 582.
 sammæle 434, 581, 621.
 samnian 536.
 samod 559, 560.
 samodspræc 617.
 samrædnes 581.
 samsoden 582.
 samtinges 557.
 sam-winnende 581.
 samwis 582.
 samwist 581, 616.
 sandiht 631.
 sangbōc 617.
 sangere 602.
 sangestre 603.
 sār 133, 343, 426.
 sārēttan 657.
 sārgian 536.
 sārīan 536.
 sārīgmōd 641.
 sāwan 5, 120, 264, 266,
 517.
 sāwol 7, 133, 221, 264,
 368, 370.
 sāwolcund 623.
 scacan 51, 57, 128, 508.
 scādan 28, 51, 133, 233,
 512.
 scadu 51, 57.
 scafan 57, 508.
 scalu 57.
 scamian 242, 536.
 scanca 401.
 scand 242, 312, 367.
 scaþa 401.
 sc(e)acan 51, 57, 312,
 508.
 sceādan 51, 133, 512.
 sc(e)adu 51, 57, 264,
 266, 312, 380.
 scēaf 135.
 sceafan 57, 508.
 sceaft 7, 51, 72, 295,
 312, 335.
 sceal 312.
 scealu 57.
 sc(e)amu (sceomu) 57,
 366.
 scēap 5, 7, 51, 124, 172,
 188, 291, 312, 343.
 scearp 66, 72, 278, 291,
 312, 426, 620.
 scarpe 553.
 scēat 562.
 sceatt 72, 259, 298,
 335.
 scēawian 76, 231, 264,
 536.
 scēawung 615.
 Scēfing 607.
 scenc 387.
 scencan 531.
 scendan 530, 643.
 sceof 110, 296.
 scēoh 428.
 sceolan 116.
 sceolh 49, 84, 169, 428.
 sceop 110.
 sceorfan 500.
 sceorpan 500.
 sc(e)ort 110, 312, 443.
 scēotpan 110, 135, 137,
 312, 493.
 scēotend 601.
 sceþþan 233, 254, 258,
 301, 510, 526.
 scield 91, 181, 312, 395,
 562.
 scielden(n) 599.
 sciell 375.
 sciēne 434, 438.
 scieppan 47, 51, 73,
 128, 181, 240, 254,
 258, 272, 312, 510.
 scieran 51, 91, 124,
 170, 312, 503.
 scierian 525.
 scierpan 531, 643.
 sciēte 136.
 scildan 530.
 scilling 96, 312, 607.
 scīnan 126, 133, 231,
 490.
 scīnlāc 608.
 scinn 312.
 scīnu 366.
 scip 96, 101, 291, 312,
 344.
 -scipe 611.
 scipere 602.
 scipincel 358, 606.
 scīr 426.
 scofettan 657.
 scof 110, 367.
 scōh (sceōh) 7, 128,
 139, 312, 328, 337.
 scōhnæg 617.
 scōl 312.
 scolu 366.
 scop 110.
 scort 110, 426.
 scotung 615.
 scræf 345.
 scrallettan 657.

- scrēawa 401.
 screncan 531.
 screpan 505.
 scrifan 490.
 scrincan 498.
 scringan 498.
 scriþan 491.
 scrūd 131, 312, 413.
 scrȳdan 132, 530, 643.
 scucca 256, 401.
 scūfan 131, 163, 166,
 293, 294, 496.
 sculan 7, 51, 72, 110,
 168, 179, 183, 215,
 276, 474, 476, 481,
 482, 543.
 sculdor 312.
 scunian 109.
 scūr 131, 312.
 scurf 108.
 scu(w)a 401.
 scyfe 386.
 scyld 5, 112, 390.
 scyldfull 629.
 scyldig (scildig) 112,
 312, 630.
 scyld(i)gian 536.
 Scylding 607.
 scyrta 530.
 scyrtra 112.
 scyte 386.
 scyttisc 632.
 sē 95.
 sē 465.
 sealf 64, 367.
 sealfian 10, 64, 218,
 222, 293, 535.
 sealh 7, 64, 149, 172,
 328, 337.
 sealt 7, 17, 64, 306.
 sealu 64.
 sēam 335.
 sēamere 602.
 sēamestre 603.
 searu 66, 362.
 searwum 557.
 sēaþ 397.
 sēaw 363.
 seax 68, 343.
 Scaxe 385.
 sēcan 47, 128, 129,
 163, 215, 272, 273,
 306, 309, 311, 326,
 534.
 secg 259, 274, 319,
 351, 352, 375.
 secg(e)an 7, 54, 55,
 146, 162, 319, 321,
 538.
 secgend 601.
 sefa 93, 401.
 sēft 556.
 sēfte 62, 163, 283, 434,
 553.
 seg(e)l 5, 80, 219, 276,
 563.
 seglan 532.
 segn 96.
 sēl 556.
 seld 277.
 seldan 80.
 seldcūþ 640.
 seldlic 299.
 sele 386.
 selegiest 618.
 selen 599.
 self (seolf) 84, 463.
 selfwilles 557.
 sēlla (sēlra) 445.
 sellan 55, 254, 276,
 534.
 sellend 601.
 sellic 299.
 sēlra (sēlla) 281.
 sēmend 418.
 sencan 531, 643.
 sendan 47, 60, 156, 259,
 285, 288, 299, 528,
 530.
 senep 80.
 sengan 289, 317, 530,
 643.
 sēo (sīo) 104, 405, 465.
 sēoc 137, 189, 310,
 426.
 seofon 7, 92, 169, 238,
 288, 293, 447.
 seofonfeald 628.
 seofontēoþa 447.
 seofontiene 447.
 seofoþa 447.
 seohhe 404.
 seolfor (sioluf) 101,
 293.
 seolren 625.
 seolh 84, 328, 329, 337.
 sēon (sīon) (*to see*) 5, 7,
 47, 49, 52, 68, 86,
 87, 120, 139, 141,
 148, 161, 168, 170,
 173, 177, 193, 239,
 241, 246, 264, 306,
 326, 328, 329, 506.
 sēoþan 106, 137, 494.
 sēowan (siowan) 533.
 seox 49, 86, 182.
 sess 240.
 sester 329.
 setl 80, 219, 276, 277,
 298, 319, 563.
 settan 55, 215, 254,
 258, 272, 273, 298,
 523, 524, 643.
 sēþan 530.
 sextig 323.
 sibb 96, 254, 272, 292,
 375.
 sican 490.
 sice 386.
 sicettan 657.
 sicol 48, 101.
 sicor 430, 639.
 side (*side*) 125, 298.
 side (*side*) 126, 404.
 siden 625.
 sidu 48, 101, 202, 396.
 siellan (syllan) 534.
 sīen 241.
 sierwan 264, 266, 533.
 siex (six) 7, 86, 157,
 327, 447.
 siexta (sixta) 329, 444,
 447.
 siex-, sixtēoþa 447.
 siex-, sixtiene 447.
 siextig 447.
 siextigōþa 447.

- sife 96, 393, 419.
 sigan 490.
 sige 96, 320, 386, 419.
 sigefæst 627.
 sigor 419.
 sigoræadig 640.
 sigþe (siþe) 96.
 silfring 607.
 simbles 557.
 sim(b)lunga 554.
 sīn 126, 464.
 sin- 583.
 sincan 96, III, 249,
 289, 498.
 sinceald 583.
 sindream 583.
 sinfulle 583.
 singale 553.
 singales 557.
 singal(l)ice 259.
 singan 7, 59, 96, III,
 249, 289, 317, 498.
 singrēne 583.
 singrim 583.
 sinhere 583.
 sinhiwan 583.
 sinnan 498.
 sinniht 583.
 sinscipe 583, 611.
 sinsorg 583.
 sinu (sionu) 48, 101,
 202, 380.
 sioluc 101.
 siolufu (siolfu) 101.
 sion (seon) (*to strain*)
 5, 41, 239, 329, 492.
 siowan (seowan) 533.
 sittan 5, 41, 54, 96,
 119, 155, 188, 212,
 213, 240, 254, 298,
 306, 484, 507.
 siþ (*sþ.*) 97, 286, 454,
 455.
 siþ (*adv.*) 446, 556, 557.
 siþe (sigþe) 5, 96, 164,
 322.
 siþian 536, 643.
 siþpan (sioppan) 151,
 301, 560.
 six 86.
 slā (slāh) 133, 329, 405.
 slæcnes 609.
 slæpan 119, 125, 188,
 232, 276, 291, 306,
 513.
 slæplæst 613.
 slæwþ 613.
 slaga 239, 401, 421.
 slāpan 119.
 slāpol 635.
 slāw 265, 437.
 slēan 5, 54, 68, 69, 70,
 128, 139, 148, 170,
 172, 239, 246, 320,
 328, 329, 475, 476,
 509.
 slecg 375.
 slege 239, 386, 562.
 slegen 442, 509.
 slīdan 126, 299, 306,
 490.
 slide 386, 562.
 slīefe 136.
 slicht 69, 387, 563.
 slīm 126.
 slincan 498.
 slītan 490.
 slite 386.
 slīpe 434.
 slīw 360.
 slōh 337.
 slūpan 131, 496.
 slyppe 404.
 smæl 54, 276, 306,
 425, 620.
 smēag(e)an 537.
 smēocan 493.
 smeoru 92, 362.
 smēpe 62, 434, 553.
 smicere 553.
 smīec 311, 387.
 smierels 598.
 smierwan 99, 264, 266,
 533.
 smītan 126.
 smiþ 96.
 smiþþe 301, 404.
 smocc 106, 243, 335.
 smōþe 61, 553.
 smūgan 496.
 smylte 434.
 snaca 306, 401.
 snæd 225, 562.
 snædmælum 557.
 snægl 54.
 snā(w) 133, 241, 264,
 265, 359.
 snāhwit 640.
 snegl 80.
 snell 80, 426.
 snīcan 490.
 snide 225, 239, 386, 562.
 sniþan 126, 225, 239,
 476, 491.
 snīwan 241, 264.
 snoru 238, 366.
 snot(t)or 219, 255, 259,
 298, 431, 639.
 snūde 553.
 snyrian 525.
 snytru 383, 563.
 snyttrum 557.
 sōfte 61, 147, 165, 283,
 553, 556.
 sol 344.
 sōmi- 582.
 sōna 5, 121, 165, 306,
 560.
 sopa 401.
 sorg 323, 367.
 sorgian 536, 643.
 sorglufu 617.
 sorgstafas 612.
 sorh 262.
 sōt 128, 306.
 sōþ 61, 426.
 sōþe 553.
 sōþes 557.
 sōþword 617.
 spāca 401.
 spadu 303.
 spætan 531.
 spāld 277.
 spanan 508.
 spannan 59, 285, 515.
 sparian 536.
 spātī 277, 348.

- spearwa 264, 278, 306, 401.
 spec (spic) 42.
 specan 505.
 spēd 129, 390, 563.
 spēdlice 553.
 spēdum 557.
 speld 420.
 spere 92, 291, 392, 393, 419, 562.
 spildan 530.
 spillan 530.
 spinel 96, 369.
 spinnan 96, 111, 285, 476, 498.
 spīowan (spēowan) 533.
 spi(o)wian 533.
 spitu 396.
 spīwan 231, 264, 490.
 spōn 121.
 spor 344.
 spora 108.
 spornan 108.
 spornettan 657.
 spōwan 519.
 spræc 225, 376, 562.
 spræclēas 633.
 sprædan 134, 530.
 spreca 7, 48, 80, 93, 225, 278, 288, 291, 306, 310, 505.
 sprecol 635.
 sprengan 530.
 springan 317, 318, 498.
 spryttan 527.
 spura 108.
 spurnan 108, 502.
 spyrian 525.
 staca 401.
 stæf 54, 336, 612.
 stæfcraeft 617.
 stæfnan 56.
 stægel 431.
 stænen 134, 625.
 stænig 630.
 stæniht 631.
 stæpe 386.
 stæppan 55, 291, 510.
 -stafas 612.
 stagga 7, 256, 319.
 stalu 225, 366, 562.
 stammettan 658.
 stān 133, 285, 334.
 stānbrycg 617.
 standan 7, 59, 306, 508.
 stānig 630.
 stāniht 631.
 stānincel 606.
 stapul, -ol 48, 57, 78, 221, 222, 341.
 stapelian 57.
 stapul, -ol 48, 78, 563.
 stealdan 516.
 stēap 135, 426.
 stearc 426.
 stearcheort 641.
 stearclice 554.
 stede 22, 55, 225, 386.
 stedefæst 267.
 stedewist 616.
 stef(e)n 81, 219, 293, 369.
 stefnan 56.
 stela 401.
 stelan 80, 93, 106, 119, 120, 225, 226, 276, 503.
 stellan 534.
 stemn 81, 293.
 stenc 311, 387, 562.
 steng 317, 387, 562.
 stēopfæder 137.
 stēor 137.
 stēoran 138.
 stēoresmann 619.
 steorfan 85, 278, 293, 500.
 stēormann 619.
 steorra 5, 85, 196, 205, 278, 401.
 steorscēawere 618.
 stepe (stæpe) 55.
 steppan 55.
 sticca 310.
 stice 386.
 sticels 598.
 stician 48, 102, 206, 536.
 stiele 47, 71, 329, 357.
 stielecg 641.
 stiel 387.
 stiepel 136.
 stieran 138, 530.
 stierninga 554.
 stig 323.
 stigan 29, 96, 101, 126, 133, 231, 235, 262, 320, 323, 476, 490.
 stige 386.
 stigol 48, 101.
 stihtan 98.
 stillan 530.
 stille 276, 434.
 stincan 498.
 stingan 317, 498.
 stiþ 426.
 stōd 225.
 stōl 128, 335.
 storm 106, 335.
 stōw 265, 379.
 stōwlic 634.
 strælbora 596.
 stræt 119, 162, 298.
 strang 59, 60, 318, 426, 443, 444, 620.
 strange 553, 555.
 strangmōd 641.
 strangnes 609.
 strēam 135, 250, 278, 306, 335.
 strēa(w) 5, 75, 140, 172, 264, 265, 363.
 streccan 311, 534.
 stregdan (strēdan), 80, 146, 321, 502.
 streng 7, 317, 387.
 strenge 434.
 strengu, -o 382, 383, 563.
 strengþ(u), (o) 221, 289, 318, 371, 372, 613.
 streowan 77, 533.
 strēowen 599.
 strican 490.
 stridan 126, 490.
 stride 386.

- strienan 530.
 striewan 264.
 strūdan 496.
 strūdung 615.
 studu 412.
 stulor 225, 419.
 stund 367.
 stundmælum 557.
 stundum 557.
 stupu 412.
 styce 112, 311, 357.
 styccemælum 557.
 styrc (styric) 220.
 styrian 525.
 sū 27.
 sūcan 131, 496.
 sūgan 496.
 sugga 256, 319.
 sugu 111, 320.
 sulh, 7, 111, 115, 166,
 328, 411.
 sūlincel 358.
 sum 34, 471.
 -sum 636.
 sumes 557.
 sumor 109, 397.
 sumorlæcan 658.
 sunbēam 618.
 sund 249.
 sundor 557.
 sundorliepes 557.
 sundormælum 557.
 sunganges 557.
 sunnandæg 619.
 sunnanniht 619.
 sunne 111, 285, 404.
 sunu 7, 111, 215, 217,
 218, 252, 284, 285,
 306, 331, 395, 396.
 sūpan 131, 291, 496.
 sūr 5, 131.
 sūrēagede 624.
 sūtere 602.
 sūþ 113, 306, 446, 558.
 sūpan 558.
 sūperne 626.
 sūpweard 557.
 swā 79, 144, 161, 471,
 560.
 swær 119.
 swæs 119.
 swætan 531, 643.
 swæþ 345.
 swā hwā swā 471.
 swā hwæt swā 471.
 swā hwæper swā 471.
 swā hwelc swā 471.
 swamm 335.
 swāpan 133, 237, 291,
 517.
 swār 119.
 swaþu 54, 366.
 swealwe 404.
 swearm 66.
 swebban 254, 643.
 swefan 505.
 sweften 625.
 swēg 387.
 swēgan 530.
 swegle 553.
 swelc (swilc, swylc)
 311, 471, 560.
 swelgan 320, 323, 476,
 499.
 swellan 80, 249, 499.
 sweltan 7, 80, 225, 263,
 266, 499.
 swencan 531.
 sweng 393, 419.
 sweofot 604.
 sweolop 595.
 Swēon 402.
 swēor 87, 173, 238,
 246, 329.
 swēora 401.
 swēorbān 618.
 sweorcan 500.
 sweord (sward) 52, 85,
 94, 159, 343.
 sweorfan 500.
 sweostor 5, 7, 52, 92,
 94, 250, 263, 306,
 415, 563.
 sweotol 92, 94, 430,
 639.
 sweotole 553.
 swerian 55, 128, 510.
 swertling 607.
 swēte 129, 298, 434,
 438, 443, 444, 553.
 sweþian 526.
 sweþpan 526.
 swica 401.
 swican 490.
 swicdōm 597.
 swice 438.
 swifan 490.
 swift 426.
 swiftnes(s) 378.
 swīge 434.
 swīgung 615.
 swīma 401.
 swimman 8, 59, 96,
 249, 258, 259, 266,
 282, 498.
 swīn 25, 126.
 swincan 289, 489.
 swindan 498.
 swingan 249, 498.
 swinsung 373.
 swipe 404.
 swiþ 97, 147, 164, 426.
 swīpe 553.
 swōgan 519.
 swolop 595.
 sword 94.
 sworetan 657.
 swōte 553.
 swurd 52, 94, 185, 201.
 swustor 52, 94, 159,
 201.
 swutol 94.
 swyle 386.
 swylt 225, 387.
 swyrd 94.
 swyster 94.
 sȳcan 534.
 sȳfre 434.
 sȳl 390.
 sylian 526.
 syll 375.
 symblan 532.
 syndrig 221.
 syndrige 553.
 syngian 536.
 synn 112, 183, 259, 285,
 375.

- tā 133, 329, 405.
 tæc(e)n 133, 219, 285,
 298, 348.
 tæcning 615.
 tæcan 311, 534.
 tæfl 293.
 tæg(e)l 54, 320.
 tæhher 70, 255, 329.
 tæl 119.
 tælan 530.
 tælend 601.
 tæppestre 603.
 tæsan 531.
 tæl 119.
 talu 57, 276, 366.
 tam 298.
 tang 367.
 tawian 120.
 te- 656.
 tēag 135, 187.
 tēam 225.
 tēar 70, 172, 255, 278,
 298, 329.
 tēargēotende 640.
 tela (teola) 557.
 telga 401.
 tellan 55, 64, 276, 298,
 534.
 temman 526.
 temp(e)l 82, 219.
 tengan 530.
 teolian (tiolian) 101.
 tēon 32, 47, 106, 111,
 135, 137, 138, 139,
 174, 225, 239, 328,
 475, 476, 482, 484,
 495.
 tēond 417.
 tēonræden 610.
 teoru 92, 362.
 tēopa 447.
 tēopung 615.
 tēoran 80, 106, 503.
 ti- 656.
 ticcen 600.
 tid 5, 126, 298, 390.
 tidlic 634.
 tidum 557.
 tiēn 231, 232, 447.
 -tig 238.
 tigele 56, 146, 322.
 tigpian 321.
 til (*adj.*) 425.
 til (*prep.*) 559.
 tile 96, 146, 322.
 tilian 101, 536.
 tīma 126, 282, 298,
 562.
 timber 298.
 timbran 221, 532.
 tiohhian (teohhian) 7,
 98, 184, 326, 536.
 tiolung 101.
 tion (tēon) 29, 127,
 492.
 tūpian 321.
 Tīwesdæg 619.
 tō 559, 584.
 tō- 584, 656.
 tō-æfenes 557.
 tōberstan 14, 656.
 tōblāwan 656.
 tōbrecan 656.
 tōbrȳsan 656.
 tōceorfan 656.
 tōclēofan 656.
 tōcnyssan 656.
 tōcumende 584.
 tōcyme 584.
 tō-dæg(e) 557.
 tōdælan 14, 656.
 tōdōn 14.
 tōdræfan 656.
 tō-ēacen 557.
 tō-emnes 557, 559.
 tōfeallan 656.
 tōfēran 656.
 tōfiellan 656.
 tōflōwan 656.
 tōforan 559.
 tōgædere 15, 58.
 tōgēanes (-gegnes,
 -gēnes) 557, 559.
 tō-geflites 557.
 tō-gifes 557.
 tōh 117, 328, 428.
 tōhaccian 656.
 tōheald 584.
 tōhlystend 584.
 tō hwon 557.
 tōhyht 584.
 tō-īecnes 584.
 tō-īernende 584.
 tōl 298, 343.
 toll 106, 343.
 tollere 602.
 tōlūcan 656.
 tō-middes 557, 559.
 tō-morgen 557.
 tōnama 584.
 tōniman 656.
 topp 243.
 tōrendan 656.
 torht 426.
 torn 335.
 torne 557.
 tōsamne 557.
 tōscūfan 656.
 tōsittan 656.
 tōslīfan 490.
 tōsniþan 656.
 tō-sōþan 557.
 tōspræc 584.
 tōstandan 656.
 tōstencan 531.
 tōtwæman 656.
 tōtyhting 584.
 tōþ 5, 47, 61, 62, 163,
 165, 232, 286, 298,
 301, 408, 409.
 tōplēas 633.
 tōweard (-weardes),
 557, 559, 584, 637.
 tōweorpan 656.
 tō wissum 557.
 træf 345.
 træg 426.
 tredan 80, 93, 196, 298,
 505.
 trega 401.
 trēo(w) (*tree*) 52, 88, 89,
 169, 173, 264, 265,
 278, 298, 363, 562.
 trēow (*faith*) 90, 173,
 265, 379.
 trēowen 625.
 trēowfæst 627.

trēowrāden 610.
 trēowþ (triewþ) 613.
 trifot 293.
 trimes (trymesse) 283.
 trog (troh) 7, 298,
 323.
 trum 425, 620.
 trūwian 131, 538.
 trymman 112, 526.
 trymp 613.
 tū 130, 266, 449.
 tūdor 260.
 tulge 556.
 tūn 131.
 tunge 111, 211, 217,
 218, 289, 298, 317,
 403, 404.
 tunglen 625.
 tungol 111, 219, 289,
 347, 348, 563.
 tungolbære 622.
 tungolcraft 617.
 tūnincel 606.
 tūnscipe 611.
 turf 108, 298, 411.
 tūsc 113.
 tuwa 454.
 twā 5, 133, 263, 298,
 447, 449.
 twēgen 449, 450.
 twelf 52, 55, 263, 298,
 447.
 twelfta 447.
 twelfwintre 439.
 twēntig 447.
 twēntigfeald 628.
 twēntigfota 447.
 twēo 402.
 twēogan (twiogogan) 98,
 537.
 twi- 585.
 twibēte 585.
 twibill 585.
 twi(e)feald 453, 585.
 twifere 585.
 twifēte 585.
 twifingre 585.
 twig 96, 298, 344.
 twigilde 585.

twihēafode 585.
 twihwēole 585.
 twinihte 585.
 twirāde 585.
 twisprāce 585.
 twiwa 454.
 twiweg 585.
 twiwintr 585.
 twywa 454.
 tygen 442.
 tyht 326, 387.
 tyhtan 530.
 tyhten(n) 599.
 tylg 556.
 tyn 530.
 tynan 530, 643.
 -þ 613.
 þā 560.
 þaccian 57, 536.
 þanan 558.
 þanc 59, 310, 335.
 þances 557.
 þancfull 629.
 þancian 7, 301, 310, 536.
 þancol 635.
 þancolmōd 641.
 þancsnotor 640.
 þās 133.
 þawian 74, 153, 264.
 þæc 345.
 þær 119, 558.
 þærinne 15.
 þæs (adv.) 557, 560.
 þæt 54, 211, 465, 560.
 þætte 305, 560.
 þē (cj.) 560.
 þē (rel. pr.) 95, 468.
 þē (pers. pr.) 163, 252,
 460, 462.
 þeah 560.
 þearf 367.
 þearfa 401.
 þearl 426.
 þearle 553.
 þearlic 259.
 þēaw 360.
 þec 311, 460, 462.
 þeccan 301, 309, 534.

þeg(e)n (þēn) 80, 219,
 321, 340, 563.
 þegnian 321.
 þegnung 615.
 þencan 5, 7, 40, 60,
 117, 165, 231, 245,
 289, 301, 309, 311,
 326, 534.
 þenden 560.
 þēnian 321.
 þennan 254, 258, 285,
 526.
 þēo 88, 89, 264.
 þēod 137, 367.
 þēodscipe 611.
 þēof 5, 7, 137, 173,
 301, 335, 562.
 þeofþ 138.
 þēoh 137, 346.
 þēon (wv.) 530.
 þēotan 493.
 þēo(w) 265, 359, 360,
 437.
 þēowdōm 597.
 þēowen(n) 599.
 þēowet(t) 358, 604.
 þēowhād 605.
 þeowian (þiowian) 89,
 264.
 þēowincel 606.
 þēowling 607.
 þerscan 85, 280, 312,
 502.
 þēs 466.
 þicce 96, 434, 553, 620.
 þiccet(t) 604.
 þicgan 120, 507, 526.
 þider 96, 558.
 þidres 558.
 þiefþ(u) 138, 372, 613.
 þiestre (þiostre, þēostre)
 5, 138, 175, 434.
 þiestru 383.
 þignen 599.
 þin 126, 460, 464.
 þindan 498.
 þinen 599.
 þing 5, 96, 301, 317,
 343, 562.

- þingræden 610.
 þingum 557, 615.
 þion (þéon) 5, 41, 127,
 175, 239, 245, 329,
 492, 530.
 þios (þeos) 466.
 þis 466.
 þisl (þíxl) 41, 329.
 þō 117, 405.
 -þo 613.
 þolian 536.
 þonan 558.
 þone 59.
 þonne 59, 560.
 þorn 106, 278, 301,
 395.
 þornig 630.
 þorniht 631.
 þorp 106, 232, 335.
 þracu 366.
 þræd 301.
 þræg 367.
 þrægmælum 557.
 þrawan 120, 264, 517.
 þrawu 266, 379.
 þrēa 75, 172, 266, 379.
 þrēag(e)lan 270, 537.
 þrēatmælum 557.
 þrēotēoþa 447.
 þrēotiene 447.
 þrī (þrīe) 231, 447, 451.
 þri- 586.
 þridæglic 586.
 þridæled 586.
 þridda 96, 254, 299,
 447.
 þri(e)feald 453, 586.
 þrifete 586.
 þrifngre 434.
 þriffere 586.
 þriheafdede 624.
 þrileafe 586.
 þrim 283.
 þrīnes(s) 378.
 þringan 301, 498.
 þrinihte 586.
 þrintan 498.
 þrīo (þrēo) 104, 140,
 175, 269.
 þrīrēpre 586.
 þrisciete 586.
 þriste 434.
 þristlæcan 658.
 þristnes 298.
 þritig 447.
 þritigopa 447.
 þriwa 454.
 þriwintre 434.
 þrop 335.
 þrosm 219.
 þrōstle 61.
 þrote 404.
 þrōwian 536.
 þrūh 139, 411.
 þryccan 534.
 þrymmum 557.
 þrysmān 532.
 þrȳþ 390.
 þrywa 454.
 þū 231, 460, 462.
 -þu 613.
 þullic 471.
 þūma 131, 282, 301,
 401.
 þunor 5, 50, 109, 159,
 219, 301, 341, 563.
 þurfān 476, 481, 482,
 542.
 þurh 278, 328, 559, 587,
 645.
 þurh- 587.
 þurhbeorht 587.
 þurhbitter 587.
 þurhfere 587.
 þurhhālig 587.
 þurhscīnende 587.
 þurhscyldig 587.
 þurhspēdig 587.
 þurhþȳrelian 14.
 þurhwacol 587.
 þurhwunian 14.
 þurst 111.
 þurstig 630.
 þūsend 131, 166, 301.
 þuslic 471.
 þūtan 496.
 þwang 59, 301.
 þwēal 329.
 þwēan 70, 239, 263,
 329, 509.
 þwēores 557.
 þweorh 85, 263, 428.
 þweran 503.
 þwīnan 490.
 þwītan 490.
 þȳ 560.
 þyften 378.
 þyle 386.
 þyllic 471.
 þȳmel 132, 340.
 þȳn 530.
 þyncan 5, 43, 47, 112,
 131, 157, 240, 289,
 301, 311, 534.
 þynne 112, 231, 242,
 285, 433, 434.
 þȳrel 329.
 þyrne 404.
 þyrniht 631.
 þyrre 279, 434, 439.
 þyrs 387.
 þyrstan 112, 306, 530.
 þyrstig 630.
 þyslic 471.
 þȳwan 530.
 -u 614.
 ūder 131, 235.
 ufan 108, 446, 558.
 ufer(r)a 108.
 ufor 108.
 ūhta 326.
 ūhte 43, 131.
 ūle 404.
 un- 588.
 unæpele 588.
 unāgiefen 588.
 unandgietfull 588.
 unār 588.
 unbeald 588.
 unbealo 588.
 unc 459, 462.
 uncer 459, 464.
 uncit 459.
 unclæne 588.
 uncræft 588.
 uncyst 588.

undæd 588.
 undædlic 588.
 undeop 588.
 under 111, 559, 589,
 645.
 under- 589.
 underbæc 557.
 underberan 14.
 underburg 589.
 undercynig 589.
 underdiacon 589.
 underling 589.
 underneopan 557, 559.
 underniman 14.
 undierne 588.
 unsæger 588.
 unfriþ 588.
 -ung 615.
 ungēara 557.
 ungefyrn 557.
 ungemete 553.
 ungemetes 557.
 ungemetum 557.
 ungeorne 588.
 ungeþanc 588.
 ungewealdes 557.
 ungewiss 588.
 ungewisses 557.
 ungielð 588.
 unhælo 588.
 unhiere 434.
 unlagu 588.
 unlār 588.
 unlēof 588.
 unnmære 588.
 unnan 542.
 unriht 588.
 unrōtsian 536.
 unslaw 588.
 unsnyttum 557.
 unsōþ 588.
 unsynnig 588, 621.
 unsynnum 557.
 unswefn 588.
 unswēte 588.
 untela 557.
 untrēowsian 536.
 unþances 557.
 unwearnum 557.

unwēnunga 554.
 unwillum 557.
 unwritere 588.
 ūp 291, 590.
 ūp- 590.
 ūpcund 590.
 ūpcyme 590.
 ūpende 590.
 ūpfliering 590.
 ūpgang 590.
 ūphēah 590.
 ūpheofon 590.
 ūpiernan 14.
 ūplendisc 590.
 ūplyft 590.
 up(p) 558.
 uppan 558, 559.
 uppe 558.
 ūpræran 14.
 ūpriht 590.
 ūpstige 590.
 ūpstigend 590.
 ūpweard 557.
 ūpweg 590.
 ūre 459, 464.
 ūs 5, 113, 147, 166, 281,
 286, 459, 462.
 ūser 459, 464.
 ūsic 218, 311, 459,
 462.
 ūt 5, 131, 260, 558,
 591.
 ūt- 591.
 ūtane 558.
 ūtcwealm 591.
 ūtdræf 591.
 ūtdrifan 14.
 ūte 446, 558.
 ūtfær 591.
 ūtflōwan 14.
 ūtgang 591.
 ūtgefeoh 591.
 ūtgemære 591.
 ūthere 591.
 ūtlagu 591.
 ūtlendisc 591.
 ūtlic 591.
 ūton 103, 266.
 ūþ- 655.

ūþgeige 10, 434, 655.
 ūþmæte 655.
 wā 133.
 wāc 426, 620.
 wacan 508.
 wacian 536.
 waciende 538.
 wacol 635.
 wacor 430, 639.
 wadan 57, 263, 508.
 wæcce 55, 404.
 wæcc(e)a 401.
 wæccende 538.
 wæc(c)er (wacor) 225.
 wæcen 599.
 wæd 345.
 wæd 390.
 wædl 304.
 wædla 304.
 wæg (wall) 275.
 wæg (wave) 119, 320,
 387, 562.
 wæge 357.
 wægen (wæn) 54, 219,
 321.
 wæl 345.
 wælreow (wælhrēow)
 325.
 wæpen 5, 119, 263, 291,
 348, 563.
 wæpenbora 596.
 wæps (wæfs) 306.
 wær 425.
 wærna (wrænna) 280.
 wærnes 609.
 wærscipe 611.
 wæsma 329.
 wæsp 306.
 wæstmbære 614, 622.
 wæstum, -em, -m 219,
 298, 329, 340, 563.
 wæt 119, 426.
 wætan 531.
 wæter 7, 54, 221, 263,
 298, 347, 349.
 wæterād 617.
 wætersēocnes 609.
 wæg 119.

- wamb 292, 367.
 wan 425.
 wan- 592.
 wandrian 536.
 wange 407.
 wanhælp 592.
 wanhafa 592.
 wanhoga 592.
 wanhygd 592.
 wansælig 592.
 wansceaft 617.
 wanscrýdd 592.
 wanspēd 592.
 wanspēdig 592.
 war(e)nian 536.
 warian 536.
 warnung 615.
 waru 366.
 wascan (waxan) 7, 57,
 153, 263, 312, 508.
 wāse 404.
 wāt 119.
 wāwan 120, 264, 517.
 wē 95, 144, 252, 459, 462.
 wēa 402.
 wealcan 516.
 weald 303, 397.
 wealdan 64, 276, 476,
 516.
 wealdend 418, 601.
 wealh 64, 172, 328,
 329, 337.
 weall 64, 335.
 weallan 64, 276, 516.
 wealt 426.
 wealwian 264, 536.
 weard 367.
 -weard 637.
 weargincel 606.
 wearm 66, 263, 426.
 weax 68.
 weaxan 5, 7, 47, 49, 68,
 69, 168, 305, 327,
 329, 476, 516.
 webb 55, 292, 356.
 webbestre 603.
 weccan 55, 311, 534.
 wecg 7, 319, 352.
 wecgan 526.
 wēdan 530.
 wedd 356.
 weder 41, 80, 263, 299,
 349.
 wedlāc 608.
 wefan 80, 93, 263, 293,
 505.
 weft 563.
 weg 48, 80, 93, 145,
 156, 186, 320, 323,
 324, 335, 562.
 wegan 120, 235, 505.
 wel (wēl) 80, 145, 556.
 wela 401.
 welegian 536.
 wel(ge)hwær 558.
 wemman 530.
 wēn 122, 390, 562.
 wēnan 47, 122, 163,
 285, 530.
 wendan 60, 259, 530,
 638.
 -wende 638.
 wending 615.
 wennan 526.
 wēnung 373.
 wēnunga 554.
 wēoh 49, 127, 192.
 weorc 7, 85, 94, 182,
 278, 310, 343, 562.
 weorcdæg 617.
 weorold 52.
 weoroldcund 623.
 weorpan 66, 85, 94,
 106, 111, 237, 291,
 475, 484, 500.
 weorþ 85, 94, 343.
 weorþan 66, 85, 94,
 106, 111, 168, 225,
 226, 231, 238, 239,
 253, 263, 299, 301,
 302, 474, 476, 488,
 500, 637.
 weorþian 536.
 weorþlēas 633.
 weorud (werod) 13, 92,
 349.
 weotuma 92.
 wēpan 129, 291, 519.
 wer 42, 80, 278, 335.
 wērgian 536.
 werhād 605.
 werian 271, 525.
 werod 151, 349.
 wesan 52, 54, 80, 94,
 194, 263, 267, 279,
 306, 307, 474, 505,
 548, 616.
 wesole (wesle) 307.
 west 80, 446, 557, 558.
 westan 288, 558.
 wēste 434.
 wēsten(n) 221, 335,
 358, 600.
 westerne 626.
 westlang 557.
 wēþl 304.
 wīcan 490.
 wicce 311, 404.
 wiccung 615.
 wice 404.
 wicg 356.
 wicu 103.
 wid 126, 263, 426.
 wīdan 558.
 wīdcūþ 640.
 wīde 553.
 wīdwe 19.
 wīdlian 304.
 wīdsæ 617.
 wīldan 530.
 wīelisc 47, 64, 632.
 wīel 387.
 wīelm 387.
 wīelwan 264, 266.
 wīergen(n) 378, 599.
 wīerman 67, 530.
 wīerpan 531.
 wīerrest(a) 99, 445,
 556.
 wīers 556.
 wīersa 47, 99, 259, 445.
 wīerst(a) 445.
 wīerþe 99, 434.
 wīf 126, 262, 293, 294,
 343.
 wīfhād 605.
 wīflic 634.

- wifman (wimman) 150,
 293, 409, 617.
 wigbære 622.
 wigend 416, 418, 601.
 wiht 103, 391.
 white 557.
 wilde 96, 263, 303, 433,
 434, 440.
 wilder, -deor 259.
 willa 272, 276.
 willan 214, 474, 551.
 willes 557.
 winnian 536.
 wilsum 636.
 wimman 150, 409.
 wincian 536.
 wind 41, 96.
 windan 263, 285, 498.
 wine 215, 385, 386.
 winemæg 618.
 win(e)stre 97, 223.
 winnan 259, 498.
 winster 97, 286.
 winter 96, 219, 263,
 397, 563.
 winterlæcan 658.
 wiodu 52.
 wiota 102.
 wiotan (wietan) 102,
 540.
 wis 126, 240, 426,
 620.
 wise 404.
 wisian 536.
 wist 390.
 -wist 616.
 wit 459, 462.
 wita 102, 225, 256, 401,
 562.
 witan 1, 19, 30, 48, 96,
 102, 133, 212, 213,
 225, 232, 240, 263,
 267, 298, 476, 540.
 wite 274, 355, 357.
 witega 225, 401.
 witegestre 603.
 witelac 608.
 witenagemot 619.
 witeræden 610.
- witestow 618.
 witgian 536.
 witnian 536.
 witol 635.
 witt 356.
 wip 559, 645.
 wipæftan 557, 559.
 wiper 593, 645.
 wiper- 593.
 wipercwide 593.
 wiperlean 593.
 wiperræde 593.
 wipersaca 10, 593.
 wipersac 593.
 wipertrod 593.
 wipfon 14.
 wipforan 557, 559.
 wipgeondan 559.
 wipinnan 557, 559.
 wipmetan 14.
 wipneopan 557.
 wipsacan 10.
 wiputan 557, 559.
 wlacu (wlæc) 439.
 wlanc 7, 263, 426.
 wleccan 534.
 wlencu, -o 383, 614.
 wlips (wliisp) 306.
 wlitan 490.
 wlite 263, 386.
 wlitig 263.
 wlöh 411.
 wöcor 370.
 wöd 426.
 wödnes 609.
 wöh 117, 328, 329,
 438.
 wöhgod 617.
 wolcen 263, 348.
 wöma 121.
 worc 94.
 word 7, 106, 215, 253,
 278, 299, 331, 342,
 562.
 wordfull 629.
 wordig 630.
 wordsnotor 11.
 wornmælum 557.
 worold (woruld) 52, 94.
- worpan 94.
 woruldcaru 617.
 worp 94.
 wös 61.
 wöpbora 596.
 wracu 263, 310, 366.
 wræc 376.
 wræcca 55.
 wræne 434.
 wrænna 280.
 wræst 426.
 wræpp(u), (-o) 372,
 613.
 wrāp 263, 426.
 wrāpe 553.
 wrāpmöd 641.
 wrāpum 557.
 wrecca 505.
 wrecca 55.
 wrecend 601.
 wrēgan 530.
 wrenc 387.
 wrēpan 530.
 wreppan 526.
 wrīdan 490.
 wriexl (wrixl) 98.
 wrigels 598.
 wringan 498.
 wrion (wrēon) 127, 492.
 wrītan 126, 263, 278,
 490.
 writere 602.
 wrīpan 239, 491.
 wrixlan 327, 532.
 wröhtbora 596.
 wröhtlāc 608.
 wröhtstafas 612.
 wrōtan 519.
 wuce 404.
 wucu (wiocu) 103, 159,
 184.
 wudiht 631.
 wudu 52, 103, 299,
 396.
 wudubearo 618.
 wuduwe 103, 159, 404.
 wuht 103, 391.
 wuldor 303, 348.
 wuldrian 536.

- wulf 7, 37, 108, 159,
 211, 212, 213, 237,
 261, 295, 296, 335.
 wulfheort 641.
 Wulfmæ̃r 421.
 wulle 108, 242, 276,
 404.
 wund III, 367, 426.
 wundian 536.
 wundor 35, III, 219,
 263, 348.
 wundorfull 629.
 wundrian 10, 536.
 wundrum 557.
 wunian 109, 536.
 wunung 615.
 wurpan 94.
 wurp̃ 94.
 wurpan 94, 185.
 wuton 103, 266.
 wylf 376.
 wyllen 112, 160.
 wynn 112, 375.
 wynnum 557.
 wynsum 636.
 wyrcan 43, 106, 112,
 220, 240, 263, 534.
 wyrd 225, 390, 562.
 wyrdstafas 612.
 wyrest (wyrst) 556.
 wyrhta 112, 401, 421.
 wyrm 112, 282, 387,
 562.
 wyr̃s 556.
 wyr̃t 112, 390.
 wyrtruma 259.
 wýscan 5, 114, 286, 312,
 531.
 ỹce 404.
 yfel 112, 183, 215, 216,
 223, 293, 430, 445,
 553, 639.
 yfelcund 623.
 yf(e)le 553, 556.
 yfel(l)ic 259.
 yfelspræce 641.
 yferra 446.
 yfes 107.
 ymb 559, 594.
 ymb- 594.
 ymbbindan 14.
 ymb(e) 112, 234, 292,
 594, 645.
 ymbfær 594.
 ymbgang 594.
 ymbhoga 594.
 ymbhweorfan 14.
 ymbütan 559.
 ỹmest 329.
 yppan 112, 259, 531.
 ỹst 114, 167, 286,
 390.
 ỹstig 630.
 ỹtera 446.
 ỹp̃ 5, 114, 376, 562.

OXFORD: HORACE HART
PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY

